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O F

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M E M O I R S

RELATING TO

That Change which happened in the
QUEEN'S MINISTRY, in the Year
1710.

Written in OCTOBER, M,DCC,XIV.

HAVING continued, for near the space of four years, in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in being, although not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out, by my friends as well as by my enemies, especially the latter, in both houses of parliament: And this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or no, to have part in the secret of affairs.

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints or journals of every thing material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thousand instances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages, which I have with curiosity found or searched for in Memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me

from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration, where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity which usually possesses men during their first acquaintance at courts; and, like the masters of a puppet-show, they despise those motions which fill common spectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed; I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of; or, from whence more useful instructions may be gathered for directing the conduct of those, who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that, upon occasion, I sometimes make mention of myself; who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or public employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction then out of power, were pleased in both houses of parliament to take every opportunity of shewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privity, nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the public and myself were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is to satisfy my particular friends; and, at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident or indiscretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to censure than other memoirs, published for many years past, in *English*, *French*, and *Italian*. The period of time I design to treat on, will commence with *September 1710*, from which time, till within two months of the Queen's death,

death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in *Ireland*.

But, because the great change of employments in her Majesty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun some months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr *Sacheverel's* trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in *Ireland*; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learned from the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, the Lady *Masham*, and Doctor *Atterbury*, who were best able to inform me.

I have often with great earnestness pressed the Earl of *Oxford*, then Lord Treasurer, and my Lady *Masham*, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change; to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage during that whole transaction: Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets; but, from a sincere honest design of justifying the Queen, in the measures she then took, and after pursued, against a load of scandal which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the Queen could not live many years; and it was sufficiently known, what party was most in the good graces of the successors; and, consequently, what turns would be given by historians to her Majesty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen, than to charge the Queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had in all appearance so prosperously governed; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person she had so long employed and so highly trusted; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part, only from a mo-

tive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power ?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of with great freedom, both to the Earl of *Oxford* and my Lady *Masbam*, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction, to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My Lady *Masbam* did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the Queen of my request, which her Majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear upon all occasions as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great Prince to be.

But, that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the Queen and the Earl of *Oxford*, did in some sort infect every one who had credit or business in court : For, after soliciting near four years, to obtain a point of so great importance to the Queen and her servants, from whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was, to write her Majesty's reign ; and, that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and which I might be sure to be deprived upon the Queen's death.

This negligence in the Queen, the Earl of *Oxford*, and my Lady *Masbam*, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor *Sacheverel*, my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me ; but what I remember I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all *England*, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late Queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the Duchess of *Marlborough* had lost all favour with her, as her Majesty hath often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That Lady had long preserved an ascendant over her Mistress, while she was Princess, which her Majesty, when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit to subdue.

due. This Princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low, as to observe, in her domesticks of either sex, who came in her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unsuitable at certain times. The Duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head, that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offensive to her Majesty, whose other servants, of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect.

The Earl of *Godolphin* held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her Majesty's early disgust against that Lord. The Duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the Queen upon things very unacceptable to her, which her Majesty liked the worse, as knowing from whence they originally came; and his Lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the Duke of *Marlborough* she was wholly indifferent (as her nature in general prompted her to be), until his restless, impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The Queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and further than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed upon, by an over caution, she would impose upon herself; she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her Majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aversion from

the Duke and Duchess of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Godolphin*; which spread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the Earl of *Hertford*, whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to her Majesty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the Queen's resolutions to make a change of some officers, both in her family and kingdom; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy. For, although she had been strictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But, the fears that most influenced her, were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreasonable demands.

The deportment of the Duchess of *Marlborough*, while the Prince lay expiring, was of such a nature, that the Queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the Duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs *Masbam* to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before Prince *George's* death. This Prince had long conceived an incurable aversion from that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the Queen his wife, to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which seemed to favour this attempt; for the Queen, resolving to bestow a regiment upon Mr *Hill*, brother to Mrs *Masbam*, signified her pleasure to the Duke of *Marlborough*; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person: But, the Queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the Earl of *Godolphin*, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr *St John* carried a letter from her Majesty to the Duke of *Marlborough*, signifying her resolutions to take the staff from the Earl
of

of *Godolphin*, and that she expected his Grace's compliance; to which the Duke returned a very humble answer. I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr *St John* about it: But, the account Mr *Harley* and he gave me, was, That the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin* had concerted with them upon a moderating scheme, wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect towards the church: That a meeting was appointed for compleating this work: That, in the mean time, the Duke and Dukes of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Godolphin*, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the Queen to turn Mr *Harley*, (who was then Secretary of State) and all his friends, out of their employments: That the Queen, on the other side, who had a great opinion of Mr *Harley*'s integrity and abilities, would not consent, and was determined to remove the Earl of *Godolphin*. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the Duke of *Marlborough* was to embark for *Flanders*; and, the very night in which Mr *Harley* and his friends had appointed to meet his Grace and the Earl of *Godolphin*, *George Churchill* the Duke's brother, who was in good credit with the Prince, told his Highness, that the Duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the Earl of *Godolphin* went out, or if Mr *Harley* and his friends suffered to continue in. The Prince, thus intimidated by *Churchill*, reported the matter to the Queen; and, the time and service pressing, her Majesty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great Lords failed the appointment; and, the next morning, the Duke at his levee said aloud in a careless manner to those that stood round him, That Mr *Harley* was turned out.

Upon the Prince's death, *November 1708*, the two great Lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the Low-church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his Highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The Lord *Sommers* was made President of the Council, the Earl of *Wharton*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

It

It should seem to me, that the Duke and Earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the Prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember, some months before his Highness's death, my Lord *Sommers*, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me with great freedom of the ingratitude of the Duke and Earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil, which my Lord *Godolphin* had brought upon us, by persuading the Queen to pass the *Scotch act of security*. But to return from this digression.

Upon the admission of these men into employments, the Court soon ran into extremity of Low-church measures; and although, in the House of Commons, Mr *Harley*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Mr *St John*, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time that the Duke of *Marlborough*, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the Duchess, made that bold attempt of desiring the Queen to give him a commission to be General for life. Her Majesty's answer was, That she would take time to consider it; and, in the mean-while, the Duke advised with the Lord *Cowper*, then Chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The Chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair; and protested he would never put the great seal to such a commission.

But the Queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the Duke, and talked to a person whom she had then taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The Duke of *Argyle*, and one or two more Lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the Queen.

Queen. This Duke was under great obligations to the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But, his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his General. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the Duke of *Marlborough's* request to be General for life; and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal; I was told, he suddenly answered, That her Majesty need not be in pain; for, he would undertake, whenever she commanded, to seize the Duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr *Sacheverel*, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the Earl of *Godolphin*, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of *VOLPONE*, as my Lord *Sommers*, a few months after, confessed to me; and, at the same time, that he had earnestly, and in vain endeavoured, to dissuade the Earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body knows, and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr *Harley*, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs *Masbam*, privately brought to the Queen, and, in some meetings, easily convinced her Majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr *Harley* was able to procure this private access to the Queen, the Duchess of *Marlborough*, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the back-stairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me a passage, no otherways worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his Sovereign. Mr *Harley*, upon his removal from the Secretary's office,

fice, by the intrigues of the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin*, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two Lords near *Kensington-gate*. The Earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the Queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr *Harley*, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced with her Majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her Majesty and Mr *Harley* to have private interviews; neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs *Masbam*, in right of her station in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr *Harley* had begun. In this critical juncture, the Queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the Dukes of *Marlborough* and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr *Harley*, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger; he read the superscription, and saw it was the Queen's writing; he sent for the messenger, who said, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under-gardener, I forget whether of *Hampton-Court* or *Kensington*. The letter mentioned the difficulties her Majesty was under, blaming him for not speaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and desiring his assistance. With this encouragement he went more frequently, although still as private as possible, to the back-stairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the Queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the councils and actions of some of her servants: That she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the Duke and Dukes of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Godolphin*, by taking the disposition of employments into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a slave to a party; but to reward those who may deserve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the High-church or Low-church. In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast; or, how far soever he intended

intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the Queen upon what they called a moderating scheme; which however made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister, led by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her Majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her Majesty, pursuant to Mr *Harley's* advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened by the death of the Earl of *Essex*, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the Queen and Mr *Harley*, that the Earl *Rivers* should go immediately to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and desire his Grace's good offices with the Queen, to procure him that post. The Earl went accordingly, was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the Duke, who said the lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his Lordship's acceptance, and desired him to think of something else. The Earl still insisted, and the Duke still continued to put him off; at length Lord *Rivers* desired his Grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the Queen, and hoped he might tell her Majesty, his Grace had no objection to him. All this the Duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The Earl went to the Queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the Queen's presence, when the Duke of *Marlborough*, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the Queen, told her the lieutenancy of the Tower falling void by the death of the Earl of *Essex*, he hoped her Majesty would bestow it upon the Duke of *Northumberland*, and give the *Oxford* regiment, then commanded by that Duke, to the Earl of *Hertford*. The Queen said, he was come too late; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to Earl *Rivers*, who had told her that he [the Duke] had no objection to him. The Duke, much surprized
at

at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her Majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

The Queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the Duke of *Kent* was forced to compound for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, while the Earl of *Godolphin* was out of town, I think at *Newmarket*: His Lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* as he was capable of. The circumstances of the Earl of *Sunderland*'s removal, and the reasons alledged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to her Majesty's person.

Mean-time both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The Earl of *Wharton*, then in *Ireland*, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the Queen began to stop her hand, and the church-party to despond. At the same time, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility: The Earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers-by, "Damn him, he is making fair weather with me; but, by G—d, I will have his head."

But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the Treasurer's staff from the Earl of *Godolphin*; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her Majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it. The Treasury was immediately put into commission, with Earl *Powlet* at the head; but Mr *Harley*, who was one of the number, and at the same time made Chancellor of the Exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The Earl of *Wharton* immediately desired, and obtained leave, to come for
England,

England, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger to the court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late King *William's* death; when, returning with the Earl of *Berkeley* from *Ireland*, and falling upon the subject of the five great Lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, by the House of Commons, I happened to say, that the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in *Ireland*, had ruined the liberties of *Athens* and *Rome*, and that it might be easy to prove it from history. Soon after I went to *London*; and, in a few weeks, drew up a discourse, under the title of *The Contests and Dissentions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States*. This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my residence in *Ireland*. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged some time upon my Lord *Sommers*, and some time upon the Bishop of *Salisbury*; the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened*.

Returning next year for *England*, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the first I ever printed†) I must confess, the vanity of

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* Vide *Swift's* Essay upon the Life, Writings and Character of Dr *Jonathan Swift*, chap. vi. p. 121. where there is a droll, pleasant dialogue, between Dr *Swift* and Bishop *Sberidan*, relating to this famous Tract.

† Meaning the first political piece he had ever printed; otherwise it is not true. For, the Tale of a Tub, and the Battle of the Books,

a young man prevailed with me, to let myself be known for the author: Upon which my Lord *Sommers* and *Hallifax*, as well as the Bishop above mentioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness: Not to mention the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had been of my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the King, and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with Lord *Hallifax*, and was as often with Lord *Sommers*, as the formality of his nature (the only un-conversable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myself with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myself in other, and, I think, much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with Lord *Sommers*; told him, that, having been long conversant with the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politics; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend or submit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confessed myself to be an High-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise: That I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness some Lords of the High-church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently recompensed by their professions of zeal to the church: That I had likewise observed how the Whig Lords took a direct contrary measure, treated the persons of particular clergymen with great curtesy, but shewed much ill-will and contempt for the order in general: That I knew it was necessary for their party, to
make

Books, were printed in or about the year 1697. Or, perhaps, Dr *Swift*, having not thought proper to acknowledge himself the author of those pieces, imagined he had a right to say, this discourse was the first he had ever printed; two or three poems, in the *Athenian Oracle*, which were printed when he was a very young man, being not worth his remembrance.

make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of Protestants to be members of their body: That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side; but, that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the Whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy, without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them: And, that I doubted his Lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this. My Lord *Sommers*, in appearance, entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his Lordship, as well as my Lord *Hallifax*, (to whom I have talked in the same manner) can very well remember: And I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, that both their Lordships, about the time of Lord *Godolphin's* removal, did upon occasion call to mind what I had said to them five years before.

In my journeys to *England* I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two Lords last mentioned, until the time of Prince *George's* death, when the Queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made Lord *Sommers* President of the Council, and the Earl of *Wharton* Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Being then in *London*, I received letters from some Bishops of *Ireland*, to solicit the Earl of *Wharton* about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the Queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the Earl of *Godolphin*. It is the first time I ever was in company with the Earl of *Wharton*; he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to Lord *Sommers*, who would needs bring us together to his house, and present me to him; where he received me as drily as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of *Wharton* would endeavour, when he went to *Ireland*, to take off the test, as a step to have it taken off here: Upon

which I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, shewing the danger to the church by such an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the Lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his Excellency their suspicions; whereupon I saw him no more until I went to *Ireland*. At my taking leave of Lord *Sommers*, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the Earl of *Wharton*, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in *Leicestershire*; went to *Ireland*; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-parish, without seeing the Lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him Lord *Sommers*'s letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the Lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary Mr *Addison*, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me, which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mentioned these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to shew their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low-party. Whereas it hath been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken: For instance, A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Countess of *Berkeley*; the sentiments of a church of *England* man; an argument against abolishing Christianity; and, lastly, a letter to a member of parliament against taking off the test in *Ireland*, which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the Earl of *Wharton* was setting

setting out to his government of that kingdom. But those who are loud and violent in coffee-houses, although generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit; and it is not to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself.

About the end of *August 1710*, I went for *England*, at the desire and by the appointment of the Archbishops and Bishops of that kingdom; under whose hands I had a commission to solicit, in conjunction with two Bishops who were then in *London*, the first-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years solicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two Bishops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myself introduced to Mr *Harley*, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and acted as first minister. He received me with great kindness; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon shewing my commission, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in less than three weeks, having settled it at five meetings with the Queen, according to a scheme I offered him, and got me the Queen's promise for a further and more important favour to the clergy of *Ireland*; which the Bishops there, deceived by misinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue.

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr *Harley*, in the name of the clergy of *Ireland*, and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr *Harley* told me, he and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and, that my personal esteem for several among them, would not make me a favourer of their cause: That there was now entirely a new scene: That the Queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: That their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings of the new Ministers. * *Upon*

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that

* These words printed in Italics are erased in the original, perhaps to avoid the imputation of vanity.

that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, That this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle to pursue it; and concluded, that it should be his particular care to establish me here in *England*, and represent me to the Queen as a person they could not be without.

I promised to do my endeavours in that way for some few months; to which he replied, He expected no more; and that he had other and greater occasions for me.

Upon the rise of this Ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her Majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord *Godolphin's* removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr Secretary *St John*, since Lord *Bolingbroke*; others by Dr *Atterbury*, since Bishop of *Rocheſter*; and others again by Mr *Prior*, Doctor *Friend*, &c. were published with great applause. But these gentlemen, grown weary of the work, or otherways employed, the determination was, that I should continue it, which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my stile being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her Majesty's death.

It was Mr *Harley's* custom, every *Saturday*, that four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at Court, should dine at his house; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the Lord-keeper *Harcourt*, the Earl *Rivers*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, Mr Secretary *St John*, and myself: And here, after dinner, they used to discourse, and settle matters of great importance. Several other Lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Argyle*; the Earls of *A——y*, *Dartmouth*, and *P——t*; the Lord *B——y*, &c. These meetings

meetings were always continued, except when the Queen was at *Windsor*; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence; and ended only in drinking and general conversation; of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr *Harley*, even before he was Lord Treasurer; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterwards grew up so high. The cause of their complaint was, That so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment; and some, particularly the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Cholmondely*, in great stations at court. They could not believe Mr *Harley* was in earnest; but, that he designed to constitute a motly comprehensive administration, which they said the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of some Lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest desire that I would represent them in the most respectful manner to Mr *Harley*, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him. I excused myself from such an office upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr *Harley*; however, I represented the matter fairly to him; against which he argued a good deal, from the general reasons of politicians; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disobliging those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topics among Statesmen. But, there was a secret in this matter which neither I, nor indeed any of his most intimate friends, were then apprised of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to assure me very solemnly, That no person should have the smallest employment, either civil or military, whose principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.

However, these over-moderate proceedings in the court gave rise to a party in the House of Commons, which appeared under the name of the *October-club*; a
fantastic

fantastic appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country gentlemen, and their adherents, who professed in the greatest degree what was called the High-church principle. They grew in number to almost a third part of the House, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict inquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect, that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr *Harley*, who best knew the disposition of the Queen, was forced to break their measures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The Ministers gave every where out, that the *October-club* were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which, Mr Secretary *St John*, and Mr *B* —, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the *March-club*, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court, to secure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenantancies changed throughout the kingdom. For, the trial of Doctor *Sacheverel* had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr *Harley*'s politics, who was said to avoid an over-great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a ministry. But, from the small experience I have
of

of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures; and from this one occasion I take leave to observe, That of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason why the court did not interpose in matter of elections, was, because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Besides, it afterwards appeared upon some exigencies, which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr *Harley*, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points; first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, secondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work: I shall only observe, that while he was preparing to open to the House of Commons his scheme for securing the public debts, he was stabbed by the Marquis de *Guiscard*, while he was sitting in the council-chamber at the Cockpit, with a committee of nine or ten Lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the Marquis upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with *France*.

This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr *Harley's* order, upon the eighth of *March* 1710-11; and, brought before the committee of Lords, was examined about his corresponding with *France*: Upon his denial, Mr *Harley* produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The Marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprize of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr *Harley*, and reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above

bove the *cartilago ensiformis*; the penknife striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle, which *Guiscard* still grasped and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described: The result was, that the Marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the Lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his Surgeon; or that, being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds; he died in a few days after. But Mr *Harley*, after a long illness, and frequent ill symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard was the younger brother of the Count of that name, a very honourable and worthy person, formerly Governor of *Namur*. But this Marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his Prince: As to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in *Holland*, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched; the despair of which first put him upon his French correspondence; and the discovery of that drove him into madness. I had known him some years; and, meeting him upon the *Mall* a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, that I wondered to see *Guiscard* pass so often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the latter part of his life, his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet I confess I never suspected him to be a man of resolution, or courage, sufficient to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr *Harley* and Mr *St John*, which afterwards had such unhappy consequences upon the public affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr *St John* affected to say in several companies, that *Guiscard* intended the blow against him; which, if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr *St John* had

had all the merit, while Mr *Harley* remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr *St John* was either mistaken, or misinformed: However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called the *Examiner*, which Mr *St John* perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr *St John*; and, perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr *Harley*: Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr *St John* did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr *Harley*'s death; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And, I remember very well, that, upon visiting Mr *Harley*, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr *St John*; enough to make me apprehend, that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr *Harley*, soon after his recovery, was made an Earl, and Lord Treasurer; and Lord Keeper, a Baron.

PREFACE

P R E F A C E
T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E

FOUR LAST YEARS OF QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN.

HAVING written the following History at *Windsor*, in the happy reign of her Majesty *Queen Anne*, of ever glorious, blessed, and immortal memory; I resolved to publish it for the satisfaction of my fellow-subjects in the year 1713; but being under a necessity of going to *Ireland*, to take possession of the Deanry of *St Patrick's, Dublin*; I left the original with the ministers; and having staid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return, that my Lord Treasurer *Oxford*, and the Secretary my Lord *Bolingbroke*, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it, without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her Majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever since preserved the original very safely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the *German* family's succeeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an undisputed parliament, brought into the House of Commons by Mr *Harley*, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse, it was very well understood some years before her Majesty's death,
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how the new King would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust; and consequently what reports would industriously be raised, as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her Majesty herself, as well as of her servants; who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her Majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than those miserable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the same time, I freely confess, it appeared necessary as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a Sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the succession, and resolved to act in every part by a direct contrary system of politics, should load their predecessors with as much infamy as the most inveterate malice and envy could suggest, or the most stupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could swallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmost impartiality, the following history of the four last years of her Majesty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced persons at present, as well as posterity; I am persuaded in my own mind, as likewise by the advice of my oldest and wisest friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to set future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful historian, I cannot suffer falsehoods to run on any longer, not only against all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even against those happy events, which owe their success to the very measures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this history, besides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years, by the chief persons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers as well

as instructions sent them by our Secretaries of State, or by the first minister the Earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the Secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home. Further, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed, and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her Majesty issued a proclamation, offering 300 *l.* to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise*, which the Queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the Treasurer and Secretary; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the Lord Treasurer; because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

I say this to shew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr *Addison* and Mr *Congreve*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the Treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and, by his Lordship's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr *Steele* might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age, yet I hope to be so in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

I have

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

I have no interest or inclination to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy misunderstandings among a few of those who then presided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of superficial and ill-informed writers, against the conduct of those who are now called Prime Ministers: And, since factions appear at present to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not so equally poised; it may probably concern those who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be less warm against others who humbly differ from them in some state-opinions. Old persons remember at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first Earl of *Clarendon*, whose character, as it now stands, might be a pattern for all ministers; although even Bishop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are so little esteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the Treasurer and Secretary *Bolingbroke*, after my utmost endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them; I retired to a friend in *Berkshire*, where I staid until her Majesty's death; and then immediately returned to my station in *Dublin*, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following memoirs; neither changing nor adding, further than by correcting the style: And, if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the least inconsistency with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a Princess as her late Majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor: whose hereditary title was confirmed by the

Queen and both houses of Parliament, with the greatest unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every Prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interests of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* King, or the *Hollanders*, more strictly than the Queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew, that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.

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I N Q U I R Y

Into the BEHAVIOUR of the
QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

With Relation to their

QUARRELS among themselves, and the design
charged upon them of altering the succession of
the crown.

JUNE, MDCCXV.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and speculations: Besides, the scene and station I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass: And being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former; I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading and inquiring after news not being one of my diversions, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed by the duties of my function at a great distance from the seat of business; I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: Only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of
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different parties; and what the consequences of this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the causes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late Ministry, much insisted on, and little understood by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction; and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and most mens opinions of persons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the Queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconciliation between the Treasurer and the rest of the ministry, I retired into the country, to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in the Earl of Oxford's disgrace; to whom the Lord Bolingbroke immediately succeeded as first minister: And I was told, that an Earldom and the Garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the Treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament; of which I can say nothing certain, being then in *Berkshire*, and receiving this account from some of his friends; but all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the Queen, which happened in three days after the Earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity of withdrawing to my place of residence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his Majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And, I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that his present Majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed, would be determined to those who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign: And, I think, there hath not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the dispositions of the

the court at *Hanover* in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occasions, publicly disapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the Duke of *Ormond*; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to those, who will consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself; I have not conversed with a more faultless person; of great justice and charity; a true sense of religion, without ostentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history, although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the Duke of *Ormond*, who is now attainted for high treason; and, therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the Queen, his Mistress, he committed those faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune; he no more conceived himself to be acting high-treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at *London*, for his sovereign King *William*, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at *Vigo*.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive to the practice of this maxim, by the help
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of plain stupidity or ill-nature, without any strain of philosophy; and, although the uncertainty of human things be one of the most obvious reflections in morality; yet, such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it, as have lately happened among us, are so much out of the usual form, that a wise man may, perhaps, be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having singled out three persons from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend; whose conversation I most valued, and chiefly confined myself to; should live to see them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high-treason; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of Traitors. But *the fashion of this world passeth away*. Having already said something of the Duke of Ormond, I shall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late Secretary *Bolingbroke*: Descended from the best families in *England*, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: But all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below, in degree, to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God hath yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study, the latter of which he seldom omitted, even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: For, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for some time to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious;

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yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a great respect for the characters of *Alcibiades* and *Petronius*, especially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application, whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in public, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but understanding men, of both parties, have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The Earl of *Oxford* is a person of as much virtue, as can possibly consist with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it less, after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory, or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs-general of the *Veres* and the *Mortimers*, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself, and others, more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good nature, and good humour; although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till towards the end of his ministry.

ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least, if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: Neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which, he thought, was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his stile were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet, often, to save time, he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: But no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause: His sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: And one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and, consequently, had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were such, that he almost ruined his

his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the representation of others; except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or prophane. His imperfections were, at least, as obvious, although not so numerous as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: And I the rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late Earl of *Sunderland*, and the present Lord *Sommers*, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the Earl of *Oxford* pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he hath seldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination, or delay; which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched than his Sovereign and he, upon that article: And, therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the Queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court-vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether ac-

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quit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: Besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation; I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear so many examples, both antient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the cases of *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, *Scipio*, and others, and of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Strafford*, here in *England*. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, hath made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwise the world would be left in a desolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worst educated, have twenty millions to one against them that they shall not be of the number; and

and proportionable odds, for the same reasons, are against every one of noble birth, or great estates. Accordingly we find, that the dullest nations, antient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or persons qualified for administration. But I take the infelicity of such extraordinary men to have been caused by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hindrances*; which is made by *Hobbes* the definition of magnanimity: And this contempt, as it certainly displeases the people in general, so it giveth offence to all with whom such ministers have to deal: For, I never yet knew a minister, who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a most profound science; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honesty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. And, therefore, men thus qualified may, very *reasonably* and justly, think that the business of the world is best brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themselves excel. For I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise from the practice of some refined ministers, to act in common business, out of the common road, than from all the usual topics of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life, and among all societies or communities; where, no men are better trusted, or have more success in business, than those who, with some honesty and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place, and method: And, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their colleagues, and the public, than a contempt, or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superior genius, and an equal desire of doing good: Which hath made me sometimes say, to a great person of this latter character, that a small infusion of the *Alderman* was necessary to those who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occasion, I cannot forget a very trifling instance: That one day, observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, the sharpness of the instrument occasioned it's moving so irregularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet; whereupon I advised him

to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little strength and a steady hand, never failed to go right.

But, to return from this long digression: About a fortnight after the Queen's death, I came to my place of residence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by several of my acquaintance of both parties; and soon learned, that what they objected was the general sense of the rest. Those of the church-side made me a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inactivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with each other, for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques. And that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at *Hanover*. But the weight of these gentlemen's displeasure fell upon the Earl of *Oxford*; that he had acted a trimming part, was never thoroughly in the interest of the church, but held separate commerce with the adverse party: That, either from his negligence, procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he had let slip many opportunities of strengthening the church's friends: That he undertook more business than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the rest of the ministers. Many facts were likewise mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one, relating to *Ireland*, where he kept four bishopricks undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission the church-interest of that kingdom, in the House of Lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

Those who discoursed with me after this manner, did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned, with pleasure, the glorious opportunity, then in his Majesty's hands, of putting an end to party-distinctions for the time to come: And the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

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On the other side, the gainers and men in hopes by the Queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different stile: They all directly asserted, that the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the Pretender, although they would sometimes a little demur upon the Earl of Oxford; and, by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late Queen herself. That, if her Majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened, (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) *things were not ripe*. That this accusation would, in a short time, infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noon-day to all the world: And the consequences naturally following from these positions were, that the leaders ought to lose their heads, and all their abettors be utterly stript of power and favour.

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of some use or satisfaction to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far these Ministers are answerable to their friends for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissentions? And, secondly, with what justice they are accused, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender?

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already in two several Treatises, of which the one is an history, and the other, memoirs of particular facts; but neither of them fit to see the light, at present; because they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the instructing of the next age, and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time, I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen, some years hence, to read the history I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the least mixture of malice, or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice. For I have always

held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an historian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to punish vice: Because I never yet saw a profligate person, who seemed to have the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity: And I know a certain Lord *, not long since dead, who, I am very confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages as an *Atticus* or a *Cataline*.

However, being firmly resolved, for *very material reasons*, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power; I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of Queen *Anne's* reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church-party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that, when the Queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the issue of Dr *Sacheverel's* trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low-church party, knowing that her displeasure went no further than against one single family, did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances †. But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation, against the parliament, that her Majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the Queen, at council, in a more determinate manner than was usual with her; as I was particularly informed by my Lord *Sommers*, then president, some, who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons, would not sacrifice their cause, but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments,

* Earl of *Wharton*. † Duke of *Somerset*.

ments, which the Queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those who knew her best thought to be real, especially Lord *Sommers* and Lord *Cowper*, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned, without the least assistance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were secure; or, as Mr *Harley*'s detractors would have it, (who was then minister) from a refinement of his politics, not to suffer, upon the account of I know not what wise reasons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they soon began to discover more zeal than the Queen expected or desired; she had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from, until about half a year before her death: But this neither the House of Commons, nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture since: Several country-members, to almost a third part of the House, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under a fantastic name of the *October-club*. These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that, when the session ended, a general removal would be made: But it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation ly in common; for I found the effect did not answer, and that, in the mean-time, he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry,

stry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him: His answer was short and cold; That he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and Queen, were employed; but that all things could not be done on a sudden. I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while, in reality, he had little or none; and, besides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the Queen his Mistress; who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious; and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *advised*. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the Queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the Lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, I would venture to prophesy, that however inconstant our court had hitherto been, their ministry would certainly last; for they had the church, the crown, and the people entirely on their side. Then it happened, that the public good and their private interest had the same bottom, which is a peice of good fortune that doth not always fall to the share of men in power: But, principally, because I observed they heartily loved one another; and I did not see how their kindness could be disturbed by competition, since each of them seemed contented with his own district: So that, notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court-friendships to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives. But, it seems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser

wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what causes their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr *Harley* was stabbed by *Guiscard*, the writer of a weekly paper, called the *Examiner*, taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, that the *French* assassin confessed he, at first, intended to have murdered Mr Secretary *St John*; who sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the Secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair division, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr *St John*, and left Mr *Harley* nothing but the danger and the pain: Of both which, although he had a sufficient share, (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet and ease than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This report was not unresented by Mr *Harley's* friends; and the rather because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by *Guiscard's* confession.

While that minister lay ill of his wound, and his life in question, the weight of business fell, in some measure, upon the Secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confess, I have seldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived, that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in case Mr *Harley* should die; although at the same time, I must do justice to Mr *St John*, by repeating what he said to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill dissembler) That, if Mr *Harley's* accident should prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loss: That, as things then stood, his life was absolutely necessary: That, as to himself, he

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was not master of the scheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the Queen; neither did he see how it would be possible for them, in such a case, to wade through the difficulties they were then under. However, not to be over-particular in so nice a point, this much is certain, that some things happened during Mr *Harley's* confinement, which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men; and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr *Harley's* recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an Earldom, and the Treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The Queen having thought fit to take the key from the Duchess of *Marlborough*, it was, after some time, given to another great Lady *, wholly in the interests of the opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her Majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the Queen's servants put together. Of this Lady's character and story, having spoken so much in other papers, which may one day see the light; I shall only observe, that, as soon as she was fixed in her station, the Queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, used to divert her Majesty from this choice; but she continued steady, and pleaded, that, if she might not have liberty to chuse her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry: And so little was her heart set upon what they call a High-church, or Tory-administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commissions, remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence

* Duchess of *Somerset*.

consequence was made till the winter following, when the Earl of *Nottingham* was pleased to prepare and offer a vote, in the House of Lords, against any peace, while *Spain* continued in the hands of the *Bourbon* family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice; and, by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The Queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain Lord, who was looked upon as dubious: That Lord attended accordingly, but heard not a word of the matter from her Majesty, although she afterwards owned it was not for want of remembring, but from perfect indifference. The Treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grossly deceived; and the vote carried against the court. The Queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance; that a person * in high station among her domestics, who, that day in her presence, had shewn his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark † of distinction and favour, which, by his post, he could not pretend to, and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain, that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons, very near her Majesty, had not given assurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the Queen, which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her, that the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of *Spain* should be found impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had, hitherto, been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer it's burthen and charge, especially with annual additions: That
other

* Duke of *Somerset*.

† To lead out the Queen.

other expedients might possibly be found for preventing *France* and *Spain* from being united under the same King, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the design of this vote was to put her Majesty under the necessity of dissolving the Parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside, and this by sacrificing her present servants to the rage and vengeance of the former; with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her Majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient, that her own coldness, or the Treasurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice had left her; which was, to create a number of Peers, sufficient to turn the balance in the House of Lords. I confess that, in my history of those times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to conjecture, that, if this were the Treasurer's council, he might possibly have given it upon some further views than that of avoiding the consequences of my Lord *Nottingham's* vote. And what those were, I suppose, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the revolution to the period I am now speaking of, the favour of the court was almost perpetually turned towards those who, in the party-term, are called Whigs, or the Low-church; and this was a space of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the Bishops-bench almost wholly renewed. But the majority of landed-men, still retaining the old-church principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavours to convert them, the late King was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign; elections seldom succeeding so well, as to leave the court-side without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late Queen's succeeding to the crown, the church-party, who seemed to have grown more numerous, under all discouragements, began to conceive

conceive hopes, that her Majesty, who had always professed to favour their principles, would make use of their service. And, indeed, upon that foot, things stood for some time: But, a new war being resolved on, three persons, who had most credit with her Majesty, and who were then looked upon to be, at least, as high principled as could possibly consist with the protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against *France*, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of *England*, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the history above-mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But, thus the Queen was brought to govern by what they call a Low-church ministry, which continued for several years; till at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame, (whether justly or no) upon the trial of Dr *Sacheverel*, which, in effect, was a general muster of both parties; her Majesty, following her own inclinations and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr *Harley* into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that minister says, *by the basest insinuations*; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute; although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent Lady, upon whose veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her Mistress, must needs know a particular fact wherein she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a House of Commons.

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church-party in the nation out-numbered the other, and especially in the several counties. But, in the House of Lords, even after some management, there was but
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a weak and crazy majority : Nor even could this have been expected, if several great Lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change ; as the Dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Argyle*, the Earls of *Peterborough*, *Rivers*, and some others, who certainly came into the Queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the government of *England* cannot go on while the two Houses of Parliament are in opposition to each other ; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men : One of these two things was of necessity to be done ; either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the Whig-stamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible : Or else, to turn the balance in the House of Lords ; which, after the success of Lord *Nottingham's* vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order, at once, to make the Queen and her people easy upon that article for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the Treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements ; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong ; yet I do not see how the Treasurer can justly be blamed for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful : Perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management ; but when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done ; which, in the language of those times, would have been called, delivering the Queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had so lately got rid of. And, I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to make the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the Queen was brought into this measure, by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace ;
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yet the Treasurer's friends began to press him anew for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the Queen had no dislike at all to the other party, (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them) further than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her Majesty resolved to put as speedy an end as she could with honour and safety to her kingdoms; and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But, in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and, after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but, if the Treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant, or other instrument, to her, already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent before hand, she would not; and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, altho' the thing were ever so reasonable, or that even the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her Majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr Secretary *St John*, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities, the following session, in the House of Commons; and the peace, being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps towards it; which he accordingly did with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the Queen thought fit to give him a title; and, that he might not lose his rank, created him Viscount. There had been an Earldom in his name and family, lately extinct; (though a Barony fell to a collateral branch in the person

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son of an infant), and the Secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For, he reasoned, that, making him a Viscount, would be but rigorous justice, and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favour. But the Queen could not be prevailed with; because, to say the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces; some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The Secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the Earl of *Oxford*, and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the Earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the public service. And although I have good reason to be assured, that the Treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and Lady *Masbam* then protested to me, yet my Lord *Bolingbroke* thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men began to split the court into parties; *Harcourt*, Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Argyle*, Sir *William Windham*, and one or two more, adhered to the Secretary; the rest were either neuters, or inclined to the Treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting; which the state of affairs, at that time, could very ill admit, and must have rendered the Earl of *Oxford* inexcusable, if the Queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the Secretary, but kept them under stricter government: My Lord *Bolingbroke* was of a nature frank and open; and, as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising, or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the Earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt

tempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity, or lightness. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The Queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find, and lament the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her Treasurer, whose greatest fault, in his whole ministry, was too much compliance with his Mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted, and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident, that this alteration in the Queen's temper, towards the Earl of *Oxford*, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the Queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Doctor *Sacheverel's* trial, my Lady *Masbam* was very much heard and trusted upon that point, and it was by her intervention Mr *Harley* was admitted into her Majesty's presence. That Lady was then in high favour with her Mistress, which, I believe, the Earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve, as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry, when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: But the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement, because it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this Lady must have a successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My Lady *Masbam* was a person of a plain, sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage, superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the Queen her Mistress: Talents as seldom found, or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while

they are there : So that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldness between this Lady and the first minister ; nor a greater mistake in the latter, than to suffer or connive at the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another object *, and wanted the effects of, when his own was sunk in the only domestic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the Queen's favour to the Earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff : But this her Majesty would not then admit ; because, indeed, it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the Queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about Christmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that she was dead ; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's house : Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party ; which proceeding men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of the Queen's illness, to the Treasurer, who was then in town ; and, in order to stop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad, in his chariot, with a pair of horses, and did not go down to Windsor till his usual time. Upon his arrival there the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on every body's face, and the account given of the confusion and distraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived : Upon which the Treasurer said to me, " Whenever any thing ails the Queen, " these people are out of their wits ; and yet, they are " so thoughtless, that, as soon as she is well, they act as " if she were immortal." I had sufficient reason, both before and since, to allow his observation to be true, and

* The Dukes of Somerset.

and that some share of it might, with justice, be applied to himself.

The Queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders, during her illness. It was, indeed, an affair of such a nature, as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting, the women of both parties, who then attended her Majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the Queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests, and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state. She, therefore, determined to fall into all just and proper methods, that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the Lord Chancellor, and Lord *Bolingbroke*, but by the Treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest; and, considering no farther than what was fittest to be done, I could not easily foresee any objections, or difficulties that the Earl of *Oxford* would make; I had, for some time, endeavoured to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the General*, by telling both of them, (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they spoke of each other; and by convincing the latter of what advantage such an union must be to her Majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot-guards appointed to attend on the Queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry, upon the subject of the peace and the Pretender, not without many gross expressions against the Queen herself; such as, I suppose, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not suffered under

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* The Duke of Ormond.

der the present powers. Which proceeding, besides the indignity, begot an opinion, that her Majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the General or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffee-houses and gaming-ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The Duke of *Ormond* desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed; which sum, his Grace told me, the Treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money: And, I cannot but say, that, having often, at the Duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers as made me think he really intended it: But I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the Duke of *Ormond*, and mentioning some ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he said, he knew not why he should do other people's work. The truth is, that, except the Duke, my Lord *Trevor*, and Mr Secretary *Bromley*, I could not find he had one friend left of any consequence in her Majesty's service. The Lord Chancellor, Lord *Belingbroke*, and Lady *Masbam*, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the Bishop of *Rocheſter* * and some others. *Dartmouth*, then Privy-seal, and *Paulet*, Lord Steward, stood neuters. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* hated the Treasurer, but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power; and was then in *Ireland* acting a part directly opposite to the court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account; so that the Earl of *Oxford* stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the Queen's favour towards

* Dr *Atterbury*.

wards him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff. Which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to obtain; his adversaries not having determined where to place it: Neither was it, upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done, while the parliament sat, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the House of Lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the Treasurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself. The Church-party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her Majesty's service, except the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and one or two more, were in the same opinion; the Queen herself, since her last illness at *Windsor*, had the like dispositions; and, I think, it may appear from several passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of *Oxford's* door. But the state of things was very much changed by several incidents: The Chancellor, Lord *Bolingbroke*, and Lady *Masham*, had intirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear; and, as he first lessened his confidence with the Queen, by pressing her upon those very points, for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of sentiments, after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides he knew as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the Queen could survive many months; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: Or, if her Majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect, yet, -after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect
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nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons he continued his excuses to the Duke of *Ormond*, for not advancing the money; and, during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time the Queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him; she complained of his silence and fullness; and, in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the Treasurer and Lord *Bolingbroke*, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might, very probably, have been prevented, if the Treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the Lord *Bolingbroke* had put that confidence in him which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconciliation have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both sides had not too much observed the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle*; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my Lord *Trevor* may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr *Prior*, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in *France* at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived that

that what I wanted in weight and credit might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years; and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the Queen's being last at *Windsor*, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment, without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good understanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both that nothing was done.

There had been three bishoprics for some time vacant in *Ireland*, and I had prevailed on the Earl of *Oxford*, that one of them should be divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the Queen, and approved by her; but, upon some difficulties not worth mentioning, the Queen's mandatory letters to *Ireland* had been delayed: I pressed the Treasurer every week, while her Majesty was at *Windsor*, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and, growing at length impatient of so many excuses, I fell into some passion, when his Lordship freely told me, that he had been earnest with the Queen upon that matter, about ten times the last fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the Queen died: And, two nights after, sitting with him and Lord *Bolingbroke*, in Lady *Masbam's* lodgings at *St James's*, for some hours; I told the Treasurer, that, having despaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only staid some time longer to forward the disposal of those bishoprics in *Ireland*, which since his Lordship told me was out of his power, I now resolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redress, nor endure the sight of: That, before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions: First, Whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? And, secondly, Whether, upon the present foot, the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months? Lord *Bolingbroke* answered to each question in the affirmative, and

and approved of my resolution to retire ; but the Treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in *Berkshire*, to await the issue, which ended in the removal of my Lord Treasurer, and, three days after, in her Majesty's death.

Thus I have, with some pains, recollected several passages, which I thought were most material for the satisfaction of those who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities, called by the Queen to her service, in the place of others with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running, on a sudden, into such a common beaten court-track of ruin, by divisions among themselves ; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissension ; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the Queen, who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes, which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice ; she had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her sex. And, lastly, (as I before observed) having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault was the Treasurer, who, not being able to influence the Queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known principle of state-prudence, that a first minister must always preserve the reputation of power : But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The Queen was by no means inclined to make many changes

changes in employments; she was positive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And surely these were no proper qualities for a chief minister to personate towards his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preserving at the expence of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a *Saturday*, when the ministers and one or two friends of the Treasurer constantly met to dine at his house, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain Lord, who perpetually opposed the Queen's measures, was not dismissed from a great employment, which, besides other advantages, gave that Lord the power of chusing several members of parliament. The Treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer, that this was whipping day: Upon which the Secretary *Bolingbroke*, turning to me, said, It was a strange thing that my Lord *Oxford* would not be so kind to his friends, and so just to his own innocence, as to vindicate himself where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the Chancellor's, (who was then also present) the Treasurer had frequently and earnestly moved the Queen upon that very point without effect: Whereupon, this Minister finding himself pressed so far, told the company, that he had at last prevailed with her Majesty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the Earl of *Oxford's* disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the Queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the Treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: He had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the ministry having been effected without any intervention of theirs, by him and Lady *Masham*; but, likewise, from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them, and therefore, in common justice as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings,

failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: And I mention it to the honour of the Secretary *Bolingbroke*, as well as of the Treasurer, that having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the Earl's conduct upon certain points, the Secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those, whose business it should have been, as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: But of this I have already spoken.

CHAP. II.

[Written about a Year after.]

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say any thing upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the Pretender: For, upon the Earl of *Oxford's* impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, that the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue: This discovery we all expected from the Report of the Secret Committee: But, when that treatise appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state-pamphlet, arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts, or a transcript of letters; and, for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in personal treaties between the Earl of *Oxford* and the Abbé *Gaultier*, which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the Earl or the Abbé, or upon what

what foot the latter stood at that time with the *English* ministry: I conceive that whoever is at distance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the *Popish* legends together. And to make such an assertion, in a public report delivered to the House of Commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will some time or other be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability as is hard to be equalled in a *Spanish* romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the Earl were not altogether founded upon the report, or at least that those important hints about bringing in the Pretender were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet than an impeachment; since this accusation hath no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the Earl of *Oxford*, after two years residence in the Tower, was at length dismissed without any trial; yet the reproach still went on, that the Queen's last ministry, in concert with their Mistress, were deeply engaged in a design to set the Pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accusation I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make on their first appearance; whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every Prince a liberty of chusing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out. First, that neither the late Queen nor her ministers did ever entertain a design of bringing in the Pretender during her Majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the Queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon

those among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance, I asked them seriously, whether they or any of their friends did in earnest believe, or suspect, the Queen or the ministry to have any favourable regards towards the Pretender? They all confessed for themselves, that they believed nothing of the matter; and particularly a person, at present in great employment, said to me with much frankness, "You set up the Church and *Sacheverel* against us, and we set up Trade and the Pretender against you."

The second point I would observe is this, That, during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except those who professed to be Nonjurors) that discovered the least inclination towards the Pretender; and the whole number they could muster up did not amount to above five or six, among which one was a certain old Lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: Yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the Duke of *Buckingham*, in whose company I never was above once or twice at most: I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that, upon the Queen's death, if we except Papists and Nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in *England*, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the Pretender; and, among these, not six of any quality or consequence: But how it hath come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to inquire.

The last point is of the same strain, and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the space of almost four years, very nearly
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and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this, in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word to be let fall in favour of the Pretender, although I was curious enough to observe, in a particular manner, what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but think, that, if such an affair had been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck, or a very small share of common understanding, not to have discovered some grounds, at least, for suspicion. Because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy, as to be able, among those he nearly conversed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This I say, upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And, I confess, it is with the expence of some patience that I hear this matter summarily determined by those who had no advantages of knowing any thing that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffee-house; or, at best, from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point can have no influence further than my own personal credit reacheth, yet, I confess, I shall never be brought to change my opinion, till some one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they alledge, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident to those who will hear reason, that the Queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when her Majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known that those, whom she appointed to succeed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the Low-church party, not only my Lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*, but a great majority of the rest: Among which I can

immediately name the Dukes of *Shrewsbury*, *Newcastle*, and *Argyle*; the Earls of *Peterborough*, *Rivers*, *Strafford*, *Ilay*, and *Orrery*; the Lords *Mansel*, and *Masbam*, with several others whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Dartmouth*, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterwards: Which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the Queen's disposition, must believe she had no inclinations at all in favour of the Pretender: She was highly and publicly displeased with my Lord *Bolingbroke*, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an Opera, when his Lordship was sent to *France* upon some difficulties about the peace; Her Majesty said, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other; wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little mistaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the Chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature, that made it manifest how little she deserved those reproaches which have been cast on her since her death, upon that account.

Besides, I have already said that her Majesty began those changes at court for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope she had to obtain a peace, by the removal of some whose interest it was to obstruct it: That when the former Chancellor, President, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them somewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their stations; of which, I suppose, my Lord *Cowper* is yet a living witness.

I am forced to repeat what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded to dismiss any person upon the score of party, and that she drove her ministers into the greatest distress,

distress, upon my Lord Nottingham's vote against any peace without *Spain*, for want of speaking to one or two depending Lords, although with the last danger of breaking the measures she was most fond of towards settling the repose of *Europe*. She had, besides, upon the removal of the Duchess of *Marlborough*, chosen another great Lady † to succeed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: A Lady openly professing the utmost aversion from the persons, the principles, and measures of those who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation: And this her Majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniencies which would ensue. Her only objection against several clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a Lady, in high favour with her, hath frequently assured me, that whenever she moved the Queen to discard some persons, who, upon all occasions, with great virulence, opposed the court; her Majesty would constantly refuse, and, at the same time, condemn her for too much party-zeal.

But, beside all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the Pretender, at the time when her Majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths, when King *James II.* abdicated: They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and, consequently, could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the case of the whole kingdom: For the adherents of King *James II.* were all either dead or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only to answer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to professed Nonjurors, there was not one man in ten thousand, through *England*, who had other sentiments. Nor can

the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious disaffection at present, because the same thing hath happened before from the same causes in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been raised against an absent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom, towards the House of *Hanover*, that, during my Lord *Oxford's* administration, there was never thrown out the least reflection against that illustrious House, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the small party-writers could have thought, that, by such a performance, they would have made their court to those in power; and which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the succession to the crown. But, however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: For hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath shewn. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy than for the climate of *England*. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her Majesty with *France* and *Spain*, were calculated in several points directly against the Pretender, as he hath now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could any thing be more superficial than the politics of those who could be brought to think that the Regent of *France* would ever engage in measures against the present King of *England*, and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the case of the Earl of *Stairs*, should serve so long for an amusement, cannot sufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief interest of the Duke of *Orleans* is woven and twisted with that of King *George*; and this,
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Whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young King of *France* to live longer, or not? For, in the second case, the Regent perfectly agrees with our present King in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession hath been broken for his sake; by which means he likewise will be incumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under one monarch. And, even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the Regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with *England*.

And, as this design was originally intended and avowed by the Queen's ministers, in their treaties with *France* and *Spain*, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present King succeeded to these crowns with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people, as could possibly consist with the grief for the loss of so gracious and excellent a Princess as her late Majesty: The parliament was most unanimous in doing every thing that could endear them to a new Monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design which *France* or *Spain* might probably have laid to make a diversion by an invasion upon *Scotland*, with the Pretender at the head, in case her Majesty had happened to die during the course of the war: And, upon the death of the late *French* King, the Duke of *Orleans* fell immediately into the strictest measures with *England*; as the Queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the Queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us had thought fit to have thrown some troops into *Scotland*, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in *England* towards the House of *Hanover*, would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprize. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her Majesty's life,
and

and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual to fortify the King's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But if any articles of that peace were like to endanger the Protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the *Dutch*, who were guarantees of that succession, and valued for zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article; and this for no greater a reward than a share in the *Assiento* trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle. That the fact is true, I appeal to Monsieur de *Buys*, who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the Earl of *Nottingham's* vote against any peace while *Spain* continued in the *Bourbon* family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his Masters, of all her Majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this further, that some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amidst all the appearing discontents of the *Dutch*, a gentleman who had long resided in *Holland*, and was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me that he had power from the Pensioner to treat with the Earl of *Oxford*, about sending hither an extraordinary embassy from *Holland*, to declare that the States were fully satisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were easy and honourable, and such as had no relation at all to the Pretender. How this happened to fail, I never inquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power. For then their affairs were growing desperate, by their quarrels among themselves, and by the Earl of *Oxford's* declination in the Queen's favour; both which became so public, as well as her Majesty's bad state of health, that, I suppose, those

those circumstances might easily cool the Dutch politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the late ministry, as an instance of their inclination towards the Pretender, that they were careless in cultivating a good correspondence with the House of *Hanover*. And, on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed to satisfy and inform the Elector, and his ministers, in every step taken by her Majesty, and what offers were made to his Highness for any further securities of the succession in him and his family, that could consist with the honour and safety of the Queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to *Earl Rivers*, *Mr Thomas Harley*, *Lord Clarendon*, and some others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which hath often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes: And this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprizing instances. I have seen an old bed-maker *, by officiously going to one door when gratitude as well as common sense should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expence of some thousand lives, and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness of a beggarly *Dutchman* †, who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late ministry to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of *Hanover*, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum, to a very inconsiderable *French* vagrant ‡, gave the

* *Mrs Foiffon*, necessary woman to the Queen, preferred to that employment by my Lady *Masham*.

† *Carew* Lord *Hunslen*, born and bred in *Holland*.

‡ *Robislan*, then at *Hanover*, but in the service of some other German Prince, it is not known how, got into some credit with the Elector.

the opportunity to a more industrious party, of corrupting that channel through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the Queen, the ministers, and the whole *British* nation were conveyed.

The second point which I conceive myself able to make out, is this: That, if the Queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their Mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favour of the Pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them to have begun, and prosecuted that design, as soon as they came into her Majesty's service.

There were two circumstances which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden. For the whole nation, almost to a man, excepting professed Nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a Popish successor. And, as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated Nonjurors, who lay starving in obscurity. So that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary way, some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be soon compassed towards absent princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the case.

The other circumstance was the bad condition of the Queen's health; her Majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her; so that whoever was near the court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophesy. And how little a time the ministers had for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by several Lords of the Church-party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers might possibly be of some disadvantage to the House of *Hanover*. And the universal declaration, both among Lords and Commons,

mons, at that time, as well in favour of the Elector as against the Pretender, are an argument beyond all conviction that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the Duke of *Shrewsbury's* opinion, That there could be no doubt of the Elector's undisturbed succession; but the chief difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the church, and people, and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures, which he foresaw would arrive. And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her Majesty's servants were upon this article; that, knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the Queen's demise, that, by their coming into power, they had utterly, and for ever, broken all measures with the opposite party; and that, in the beginning of their administration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate; yet their actions shewed them so far from any view towards the Pretender, that they neglected pursuing those measures which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing themselves, but the interest of the church, without any violence to the Protestant succession in the person of the Elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of their ministry. To prevent this evil was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were easy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not out-bid by another party, however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. Of which truth *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as many other states,

states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use further than to discover my own resentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry, by the House of Commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the Queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr *Thomas Harley* was sent to the Elector of *Hanover* with instructions, to offer his Highness any further securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with her Majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the Secretary of State, a little before his return from *Hanover*, signifying in direct terms, that the Elector expressed himself satisfied in the Queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the same purpose to one of the Under-secretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read; and the Queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr *Harley* to have been charged with. From what hath since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant, it might have been a compliment in his Highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the Queen; but, without question, her Majesty had a fair excuse to take the Elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain where these accusers of that excellent Princess's veracity will, I suppose, not profess (at least) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I said, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it had pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

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I have already observed, how well it was known at court what measures the Elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place; and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his Highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now, if we consider the dispositions of *England* at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and of the people in general, were of the Church-party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor to have procured a House of Commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority, at least, of three in four; because the trouble and expence would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added, that the government of *England* cannot move a step, while the House of Commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed, at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so necessary: Whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a House of Lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature, at that time, could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of per-

petuating themselves; which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under King *Charles I.* although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the Earl of *Oxford*, and the rest of that ministry, with a design of altering the succession of the crown in favour of the Pretender, will, perhaps, be at some difficulty to fix the time when that design was in agitation: For, if such an attempt had begun with their power, it is not easy to assign a reason why it did not succeed; because there were certain periods when her Majesty and her servants were extremely popular, and the House of *Hanover* not altogether so much, upon account of some behaviour and management in one or two of their ministers here, and some other circumstances that may better be passed over in silence: All which, however, had no other consequence than that of repeated messages of kindness, and assurance to the Elector. During the last two years of the Queen's life, her health was in such a condition, that it was wondered how she could hold out so long: And then, as I have already observed, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required so much time, and which the ministers themselves had rendered impracticable by the whole course of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of those dissensions which had early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree that this design of overthrowing the succession could not be owing to any principle of conscience in those whom they accuse; for they knew very well, by their own experience and observation, that such kind of scruples have given but small disturbance of late years in these kingdoms. Since interest is therefore the only test by which we are to judge the intentions of those who manage public affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shewn how the interest of the Queen's ministers

sters could be advanced by introducing the Pretender, before they were charged with such an intention. Her Majesty was several years younger than her intended successor, and, at the beginning of that ministry, had no disorders except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortner of life; and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their Mistrefs: So that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an *English* ministry; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history of a set of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government; without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry in such circumstances durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their Sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments, than hazard the loss of their heads at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an *accusation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least till towards the end of their ministry; and then very absurdly, because the want of time, and other circumstances, rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And whoever considers the late Queen, so little enterprizing in her nature, so much given to delay, and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions, (as *restiveness* is commonly attended with slowness) so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred; will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking; if we add to this, the contempt she often expressed for the person and concerns of the Chevalier, her brother, of which I have already said enough to be understood.

It hath been objected against the late Queen and her servants, as a mark of no favourable disposition to-

wards the House of *Hanover*, that the Electoral Prince was not invited to reside in *England*: And, at the same time, it ought to be observed, that this objection was raised and spread by the leaders of that party, who first opposed the counsel of inviting him, offering, among other arguments against it, the example of *Queen Elizabeth*, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself, that she *would* not live with her grave-stone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two Queens. For, in her late Majesty's reign, the crown was as firmly settled on the *Hanover* Family as the legislature could do it: And the question was only, whether the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with the Sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction, which her Majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved: And, therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And, if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family-dissentions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterwards offer many reasons for it in a discourse intended for the public, (but stopped by the Queen's death) that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in *England*; by which, I conceived, the Queen might be secured from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a Prince of *English* manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm before I offered it: Neither were they or their Mistress to be blamed, that such a resolution was not pursued.

Perhaps,

Perhaps, from what hath since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the time wherein I am writing) upon those two points, which I proposed to discourse on; wherein I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and, I think, upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions: For I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the Prince; which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little use, when factions are violent. But it so falls out, that, among contending parties in *England*, the general interest of church and state is more the private interest of one side than the other; so that, whoever professeth to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country, may have a safe rule to follow, by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is, that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours; and one side will find themselves obliged to take in all the subaltern denominations of those who dislike the present establishment, in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public interest; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-designing Prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope, or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: In which case, as may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in by their own supposed consent,

to be their own enslavers ; and, where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth ? Or, will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations ? For whoever considers the course of the *Roman* Empire after *Cæsar's* usurpation, the long continuance of the *Turkish* government, or the destruction of the *Gothic* balance in most kingdoms of *Europe*, will easily see how controulable that maxim is, that, *res nolunt diu malè administrari* : Because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are molded into bodies ; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws ; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man, whose vices are seldom known to end but with himself.

THE

THE
ADDRESS
OF THE
HOUSE of LORDS to the QUEEN.

[Drawn up by Dr SWIFT, at the Command of the
LORD TREASURER, and delivered by the DUKE
of GRAFTON.]

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, do, with the greatest joy and satisfaction, return our humble thanks to your Majesty for your most gracious speech from the throne, and for communicating to this House that peace is agreed on, so honourable to your Majesty, and safe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the blessing of God, that your people will, in a few years, recover themselves, after so long and expensive a war. We likewise beg leave to congratulate with your Majesty upon the success of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of *Europe* will be owing (next to the Divine Providence) to your Majesty's wisdom and goodness. We never had the least doubt but that your Majesty, who is the greatest ornament and protector of the Protestant Religion, would do every thing for securing the Protestant Succession; towards which nothing can be more necessary than the perfect harmony there is between your Majesty and the House of *Hanover*. And we do humbly assure your Majesty, that, as you are pleased to express your dependence (next under God) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourselves bound, by the greatest ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the most obedient subjects, to the most indulgent Sovereign.

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A N E C D O T E

R E L A T I V E T O T H E

P E A C E O F U T R E C H T.

ONE Dr Helvetius was sent from Paris, by Torcy to Devenwordt at the Hague, with the first proposals for a peace separate with *Holland*; a year after which the preliminaries, at *Gertrudenberg*, were transacted by the Mar. *D'Uxelles* and *Polignac*, and afterwards *Menager* was privately dispatched to the same effect.

My Lord *Strafford* had the first intimation of these separate transactions of *France* and *Holland*, from the Duke of *Marlborough*, (as a thing a good while before in agitation) and afterwards from *Devenwordt* himself, who told him that he sent to *Paris* for Dr *Helvetius* to cure him of a rheumatism, which opportunity *Torcy* took to negotiate by him.

Helvetius since confirmed the same story to my Lord *Strafford*, in the year 1720.

A C O.

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C O P Y
O F

Dr SWIFT'S MEMORIAL to the QUEEN.

APRIL 15. 1714.

THE change of ministry about four years ago, the fall of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the proceedings since, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciously represented to posterity, if they should fall under the pen of some writer of the opposite party, as they probably may.

Upon these reasons, it is necessary, for the honour of the Queen, and in justice to her servants, that some able hand should be immediately employed to write the history of her Majesty's reign; that the truth of things may be transmitted to future ages, and bear down the falsehood of malicious pens.

The Dean of *St Patrick's* is ready to undertake this work, humbly desiring her Majesty will please to appoint him her historiographer, not from any view of the profit, (which is so inconsiderable that it will hardly serve to pay the expence of searching offices) but from an earnest desire to serve his Queen and country; for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of access to those places where papers and records are kept, which will be necessary to any who undertake such an history.

SOME

SOME CONSIDERATIONS
UPON THE
CONSEQUENCES HOPED and FEARED
FROM THE
DEATH of the QUEEN.

AUG. 9. 1714.

IN order to set in a clear light what I have to say upon this subject, it will be convenient to examine the state of the nation with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done without some little retrospection into the five last years of her late Majesty's reign.

I have it from unquestionable authority, that the Duchess of *Marlborough's* favour began to decline very soon after the Queen's accession to the throne, and that the Earl of *Godolphin's* held not much above two years longer; although her Majesty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin* having fallen early into the interests of the lower party, for certain reasons not seasonable here to be mentioned, (but which may deserve a place in the history of that reign) they made large steps that way upon the death of the Prince of *Denmark*, taking in several among the warmest leaders of that side, into the chief employments of the state. Mr *Harley*, then secretary of state, who disliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole scheme, was removed with the utmost indignation, and about the same time, Sir *Simon*

Harcourt

Harcourt and *Mr St John*, with some others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the Queen, who had then a great esteem for the person and abilities of *Mr Harley* (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her), was deprived of his service with some regret, and upon that and other motives well known at court, began to think herself hardly used, and several stories ran about, whether true or false, that her Majesty was not always treated with that duty she might expect. Mean-time the church-party were loud in their complaints, surmising, from the virulence of several pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the sacramental-test, from the avowed principles, and free speeches of some persons in power, and other jealousies needless to repeat, that ill designs were forming against the religion established.

These fears were all confirmed by the trial of *Dr Sacheverel*, which drew the populace, as one man, into the party against the ministry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious, that the Queen had still a reserve of favour for *Mr Harley*, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal: For, the Earl of *Godolphin*'s coach and his happening to meet near *Kensington*, the Earl a few hours after reproached the Queen, that she privately admitted *Mr Harley*, and was not without some difficulty undeceived by her Majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the Doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the Queen's command, and the intervention of *Mrs Masham*, was brought up the back-stairs; and that Princess, spirited by the addresses from all parts, which shewed the inclinations of her subjects to be very averse from the proceedings in court and parliament, was resolved to break the united power of the *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* families, and to begin this work, by taking the disposal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the Earl of *Essex*, lieutenant of the tower, whose employment was given to the Earl *Rivers*, to great discontent of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who intended it for the Duke *Northumberland*.

land, then colonel of the *Oxford* regiment, to which the Earl of *Hartford* was to succeed. Some time after, the chamberlain's staff was disposed of to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* in the absence, and without the privity of the Earl of *Godolphin*. The Earl of *Sunderland*'s removal followed, and lastly that of the High Treasurer himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof Mr *Harley* (made at the same time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it suffice, that, in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former ministry left in any great stations there.

I have good reasons to be assured, that when the Queen began this change, she had no intentions to carry it so far as the church-party expected, and have since been so impatient to see. For, although she were a true professor of the religion established, yet the first motives to this alteration did not arise from any dangers she apprehended to that or the government; but from a desire to get out of the dominion of some, who she thought had kept her too much and too long in pupillage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon some occasions, positive to a great degree. And when she had got rid of those who had, as she thought, given her the most uneasiness, she was inclined to stop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating scheme, from whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the same time I must confess my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made use of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which her advisers might think it easier to prevail with her to go as far as they thought fit. That these were her Majesty's dispositions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of the change, she appeared very loth to part with two great officers of state of the other party; and some, whose absence the new ministers most earnestly wished, held in for above two years after.

Mr *Harley*, who acted as first minister before he had the staff, as he was a lover of gentle measures, and inclined

clined to procrastination, so he could not, with any decency, press the Queen too much against her nature; because it would be like running upon the rock where his predecessors had split. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, against the principles and persons of the low church party, gave this minister a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houses, especially among the commons, pressed for a thorough change, and so did almost all the Queen's new servants, especially after Mr *Harley* was made an Earl and High Treasurer. He could not in good policy own his want of power, nor sling the blame upon his Mistress. And, as too much secrecy was one of his faults, he would often, upon these occasions, keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewise other views, which were better suited to the maxims of state in general, than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the discontented party, he fell in with the Queen's humour, he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity, and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undisposed of. He seemed also to think, as other ministers have done, that, since factions are necessary in such a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the present one prostrate, lest another more plausible, and therefore not so easy to grapple with, might arise in its stead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjustly laid on him. He had no favourites among the Whig-party, whom he kept in upon the score of old friendship or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the rest of the ministry together.

A
S E R M O N
U P O N T H E
M A R T Y R D O M of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jan. 30. 1725-6,
being Sunday.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON and LEVI are brethren; instruments of cruelty
are in their habitations.

O my soul, come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall.

Curst be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, and scatter them in ISRAEL.

I K N O W very well, that the church hath been often censured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and blessed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather chose to die on a scaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entrusted him. But, at the same time, it is manifest that those who make such censures are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of those who contrived the murder of that Prince, and have not yet shewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alledged that the observation of this day hath served to continue and increase the animosity and enmity among our countrymen,

men, and to disunite Protestants; that a law was made, upon the Restoration of the Martyr's son, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occasion; and, since none are now alive who were actors or instruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations. Now, because I conceive most of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

First, relate to you so much of the story as may be sufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the consequences which this bloody deed had upon these Kingdoms:

And, *lastly*, I will shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the *first*, In the reign of this Prince, *Charles* the Martyr, the power and prerogative of the King were much greater than they are in our times, and so had been for at least 700 years before: And the best Princes we ever had carried their power much farther than the blessed Martyr offered to do in the most blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally bestowed to favourites, in the preceding reigns, the succeeding Kings could not support themselves without taxes raised by parliament; which put them under a necessity of frequently calling those assemblies: And; the crown-lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beside the possessions of which the church had been robbed by *Henry VIII.*; power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the side of the people, by whom even the just rights of the crown were often disputed.

But further: Upon the cruel persecution raised against the Protestants, under *Queen Mary*, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to seek for shelter, several went and resided at *Geneva*, which is a commonwealth governed without a King, and where the religion, contrived by *Calvin*, is without the order of bishops. When the Protestant faith was restored by *Queen Elizabeth*, those who fled to *Geneva* returned among the rest home to *England*, and were grown so fond of the

government and religion of the place they had left, that they used all possible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the same time continually preaching and railing against ceremonies and distinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they disliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troublesome to the church and state, under that great Queen, as well as her successor King *James I.* These people called themselves *PURITANS*, as pretending to a purer faith than those of the church established. And these were the founders of our dissenters, They did not think it sufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying institutions of the Primitive Church, and, at last, even the government of bishops; which, having been ordained by the apostles themselves, had continued without interruption, in all Christian churches, for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not because those things were evil, but because they were kept by the Papists. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; because, as I have already said, the city of *Geneva*, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

These *Puritans*, about the middle of the Martyr's reign, were grown to be a considerable faction in the kingdom, and in the Lower House of parliament. They filled the public with the most false and bitter libels against the bishops and clergy, accusing chiefly the very best among them of Popery; and, at the same time, the House of Commons grew so insolent and uneasy to the King, that they refused to furnish him with necessary supplies for the support of his family, unless upon such conditions as he could not submit to without forfeiting his conscience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in such an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way justifiable, of raising money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his side: For, wicked judges there were in those times as well as in ours. There were likewise many complaints, and sometimes justly, made against the proceedings of a certain court, called the

the *Star-chamber*, a judicature of great antiquity, but had suffered some corruptions, for which, however, the King was no way answerable. I cannot recollect any more subjects of complaint with the least ground of reason, nor is it needful to recollect them, because this gracious King did, upon the first application, redress all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardships for the future. But, that wicked faction in the House of Commons, not content with all those marks of his justice and condescension, urged still for more; and, joining with a factious party from *Scotland*, who had the same fancies in religion, forced him to pass an act for cutting off the head of his best and chief minister; and, at the same time, compelled him, by tumults and threatnings of a packt rabble, poisoned with the same doctrines, to pass another law, by which it should not be in his power to dissolve that parliament without their own consent. Thus, by the greatest weakness and infatuation that ever possessed any man's spirit, this Prince did in effect sign his own destruction. For the House of Commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiously; sent him every day some unreasonable demand, and, when he refused to grant it, made use of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both Houses, without the King's consent, should be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reason and equity, as well as to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in *Ireland* broke out; wherein his parliament refused to assist him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in person to subdue those rebels. These, and a thousand other barbarities, forced the King to summon his loyal subjects to his standard in his own defence. Mean while the *English* parliament, instead of helping the poor Protestants here, seized on the very army that his Majesty was sending over for our relief, and turned them against their own Sovereign. The rebellion in *England* continued for four or five years: At last the King was forced to fly in disguise to the *Scots*, who sold him to the rebels. And these *Puritans* had the impudent cruelty to try his sacred person in a mock court of justice, and cut

off his head ; which he might have saved, if he would have yielded to betray the constitution in church and state.

In this whole proceeding *Simeon* and *Levi* were brethren, the wicked insinuations of those fanatical preachers stirring up the cruelty of the soldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the House every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to bear the least inclination towards an agreement with the King, suffering only those to enter who thirsted chiefly for his blood ; and this is the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear that this Prince was, in all respects, a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of his people. That odious parliament had first turned the bishops out of the House of Lords ; in a few years after, they murdered their King ; then immediately abolished the whole House of Lords ; and so, at last, obtained their wishes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of *Geneva*, without a King, a bishop, or a nobleman ; and this they blasphemously called the kingdom of Christ and his saints.

This is enough for your information on the first head : I shall therefore proceed to the second, wherein I will shew you the miserable consequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in these nations.

First, The *Irish* rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked *English* parliament. For the leaders in the *Irish* Popish massacre would never have dared to stir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious spirit in the *English* House of Commons, which they very well knew must disable the King from sending any supplies to his Protestant subjects here ; and, therefore, we may truly say that the *English* parliament held the King's hands, while the *Irish* Papists here were cutting our grandfathers throats,

Secondly, That murderous *Puritan* parliament, when they had all in their power, could not agree upon any one method of settling a form either of religion or civil government, but changed every day from schism to schism,

schism, from heresy to heresy, and from one faction to another. From whence arose that wild confusion still continuing in our several ways of serving God, and those absurd notions of civil power, which have so often torn us with factions more than any other nation in *Europe*.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the rise and progress of Atheism among us. For, men observing what numberless villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were easily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere imposture: And the same spirit of infidelity, so far spread among us at this present, is nothing but the fruit of the seeds sown by those rebellious hypocritical saints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous spirit of the *English* nation, were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example of those wicked people. Many of the antient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their Prince and country, or murdered by the merciless courts of justice.

Some of the worst among them favoured, or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new set created, when the Martyr's son was restored, were such who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered Prince were forced to fly, for the safety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them, at least, I mean King *James II.* was seduced to Popery; which ended in the loss of his kingdoms, the misery and desolation of this country, and a long and expensive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blasphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his interests and ours were the same: And God gave him greater success than our sins deserved. But, as a house thrown down by a storm is seldom rebuilt, without some change in the foundation; so it hath happened, that, since the late Revolution, men have sate much looser in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have

have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up those very opinions professed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the blessed Martyr to the scaffold.

Sixthly, Another consequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was the destroying or defacing such vast numbers of God's houses. *In their self-will they digged down a wall.* If a stranger should now travel in *England*, and observe the churches in his way, he could not otherwise conclude, than that some vast army of *Turks* or *Heathens* had been sent on purpose to ruin and blot out all marks of Christianity. They spared neither the statues of saints, or antient prelates, or kings, or benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, seized the vessels of Silver set apart for the holiest use, tore down the most innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houses of prayer dens of thieves, or stables for cattle. These were the mildest effects of *Puritan*-zeal, and devotion for Christ; and this was what themselves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom those ravages were not so easily seen; for the people here being too poor to raise such noble temples, the mean ones we had, were not defaced, but totally destroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that although God might have found out many other ways to have punished a sinful people, without permitting this rebellion and murder; yet as the course of the world hath run ever since, we need seek for no other causes, of all the public evils we have hitherto suffered, or may suffer for the future, by the misconduct of princes, or wickedness of the people.

I go on now upon the third head, to shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

First, It may be an instruction to princes themselves, to be careful in the choice of those who are their advisers in matters of law. All the judges of *England*, except one or two, advised the King, that he might legally raise money upon the subjects for building of ships,

ships, without consent of parliament; which, as it was the greatest oversight of his reign, so it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewise learn from hence, not to sacrifice a faithful servant to the rage of a faction, nor to trust any body of men with a greater share of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much less to deposite it in their hands until they shall please to restore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the consequences that have arisen from it, we shall be convinced how necessary it is for those in power to curb, in season, all such unruly spirits as desire to introduce new doctrines and discipline in the church, or new forms of government in the state. Those wicked Puritans began, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, to quarrel only with surplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the cross in baptism, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance, and, at last, they must needs have the whole government of the church dissolved. This great work they compassed, first, by depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, then they abolished the whole order; and, at last, which was their original design, they seized on all the church lands, and divided the spoil among themselves; and, like *Jeroboam*, made priests of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their King, and discarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to shew what a Babel they had built, after twelve years trial and twenty several sorts of government; the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the son of him whom those reformers had sacrificed. And thus were *Simeon* and *Levi* divided in *Jacob* and scattered in *Israel*.

Thirdly, Although the successors of those Puritans, I mean our present dissenters, do not think fit to observe this day of humiliation; yet, since it would be very proper in them, upon some occasions, to renounce in a public manner those principles upon which their predecessors acted; and it will be more prudent in them
to

to do so, because those very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found by experience, that, after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their King, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand.

Fourthly, Those who profess to be followers of our church established, and yet presume in discourse to justify or excuse that rebellion, and murder of the King, ought to consider, how utterly contrary all such opinions are to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of it's true professors for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I speak it with grief of heart, we have heard even sermons of a strange nature; although reason would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and lessening the guilt of those who murdered the best of Kings in cold blood, and, for a time, destroyed the very monarchy itself. Pray God we may never more hear such doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it scattered about in print, to poison the people.

Fifthly, some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the consequences they had upon these nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie, and to mistrust those deluding spirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may say what they please, but it is no hard thing at all for the meanest person, who hath common understanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be secure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himself against injustice and oppression: If his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it, (which he may be very secure of, let it be what it will;) he ought to be fully satisfied,

fied, and give no offence, by writing or discourse, to the worship established, as the dissenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new visions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet and possess them in silence, without disturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proselytes. This was the folly and madness of those antient Puritan fanatics: They must needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their absurdities and blasphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghost.

To conclude this head: In answer to that objection of keeeping up animosity and hatred between Protestants, by the observation of this day; if there be any sect, or sort of people among us, who profess the same principles in religion and government which those Puritan rebel put in practice; I think it is the interest of all those who love the church and King, to keep up as strong a party against them as possible, until they shall, in a body, renounce all those wicked opinions upon which their predecessors acted, to the disgrace of Christianity, and the perpetual infamy of the *English* nation.

When we accuse the Papists of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with Heretics, they deny it to a man; and yet we justly think it dangerous to trust them, because we know their actions have been sometimes suitable to that opinion: But the followers of those who beheaded the Martyr, have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be justly suspected: Neither will the bare name of Protestants set them right. For, surely, Christ requires more from us than a profession of hating Popery, which a *Turk* or an *Atbeist* may do as well as a Protestant.

If an enslaved people should recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any sort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thanksgiving? And doth not the destruction of a church, a King, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocrisy, and cruelty of a wicked race of soldiers and preachers, and other sons of Belial, equally

ly require a solemn time of humiliation ? especially since the consequences of that bloody scene still continue, as I have already shewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I proposed to discourse on. But, before I conclude, I must give a caution to those who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for absolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and as the Apostle says, *The powers that be are ordained of God*; but this is in the same sense, that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever possession we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in those, or any other words of Scripture, to justify tyrannical power, or the savage cruelties of those Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the Apostles : And so St Paul concludes, *The powers that be are ordained of God*: For what ? Why, *for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise, the reward of them that do well*. There is no more inward value in the greatest Emperor, than in the meanest of his subjects : His body is composed of the same substance, the same parts, and with the same or greater infirmities : His education is generally worse, by flattery, and idleness, and luxury, and those civil dispositions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore against common sense, that his private personal interest, or pleasure, should be put in the balance with the safety of millions, every one of which is his equal by nature, equal in the sight of God, equally capable of salvation ; and it is for their sakes, not his own, that he is intrusted with the government over them. He hath as high trust as can safely be reposed in one man, and, if he discharge it as he ought, he deserves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His personal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his ministers in the state. To what height those errors may be suffered to proceed, is not the business of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppressions grow too great and universal to be borne, nature or necessity may find a remedy. But, if a private person reasonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital

capital, it would be an hard condition indeed, not to give the same allowance to a Prince; who must see with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the Martyr, and is so, in some degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may justly say in defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it must be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the subjects will not rather chuse to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the administration, unless where the vulgar are deluded by false preachers to grow fond of new visions and fancies in religion, which, managed by dextrous men, for sinister ends of malice, envy, or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the case in the whole progress of that great rebellion, and the murder of *King Charles I.*; but the late Revolution under the Prince of *Orange* was occasioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppression and injustice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy Prince, *King James II.* did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a false religion upon his subjects, for which he was deservedly rejected, since there could be no other remedy found, or at least agreed on. But, under the blessed Martyr, the deluded people would have forced many false religions, not only on their fellow-subjects, but even upon their Sovereign himself, and at the same time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, because he would not comply, raised a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permission of God, they prevailed, and put their Sovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, those who seem to think they cannot otherwise justify the late Revolution, and the change of the succession, than by lessening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greatest affront imaginable upon the present powers, by supposing any relation, or resemblance, between that rebellion and the late Revolution; and, consequently, that the present establishment is to be defended by the same arguments which those usurpers made use of, who, to obtain their tyrann-

ny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great design of my discourse was to give you warning against running into either extreme of two bad opinions with relation to obedience. As kings are called gods upon earth, so some would allow them an equal power with God over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the subject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which, however, I hope, was never meant by those who pleaded for passive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was first charged with it, but hath sometimes gone over to the other, to serve many an evil turn of interest or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the highest maintainers of it.

On the other side, some look upon kings as answerable for every mistake or omission in government, and bound to comply with the most unreasonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the case of those who persecuted the blessed Martyr of this day from his throne to the scaffold.

Between these two extremes, it is easy, from what hath been said, to chuse a middle; to be good and loyal subjects, yet, according to your power, faithful asserters of your religion and liberties. To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled doctrines in the church; to be strict observers of the laws, which cannot be justly taken from you without your own consent. In short, *to obey God and the king, and meddle not with those who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, &c.

A N

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
C O U R T and E M P I R E of J A P A N.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXVIII.

REGOGE was the thirty-fourth Emperor of *Japan* and began his reign in the year 341 of the Christian era, succeeding to *Nena*, a Princess who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-six years before, which made some breaches in the hereditary line; and *Regoge*, successor to *Nena*, although of the royal family, was a distant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the revolution above-mentioned; and, at the death of the Empress *Nena*, were in the highest degree of animosity, each charging the other with a design of introducing new gods, and changing the civil constitution. The names of these two parties were *Hufiges* and *Yortes*. The latter were those whom *Nena*, the late Empress, most favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whose advice she governed.

The *Hufige* faction, enraged at their loss of power, made private applications to *Regoge* during the life of the Empress; which prevailed so far, that, upon her death, the new Emperor wholly disgraced the *Yortes*, and employed only the *Hufiges* in all his affairs. The *Japanese* Author highly blames his Imperial Majesty's proceeding in this affair; because, it was allowed on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating scheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign by openly disgracing the principal and most popular *Yortes*, some of which had been chiefly instrumental in raising him

to the throne. By this mistaken step he occasioned a rebellion; which, although it were soon quelled by some very surprising turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in such immense charges, that, instead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the most profound peace; he left his empire loaden with a vast addition to the old incumbrance.

This Prince, before he succeeded to the empire of *Japan*, was King of *Tedsu*, a dominion seated on the continent, to the west-side of *Japan*. *Tedsu* was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he spent some months almost every year, and thither was supposed to have conveyed great sums of money, saved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon *Tedsu*: Of these he purchased a litigated title; and, to support it, was forced not only to entrench deeply on his *Japanese* revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the *Japanese* empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which some authors are of opinion was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of *Brennus*, who ravaged a great part of *Asia*; and those of them who fixed in *Japan*, left behind them that kind of military institution, which the northern people, in ensuing ages, carried through most parts of *Europe*; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a senate of nobles, with a representative from every centenary of private soldiers; and, in the assent of the majority in these two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legislature consisted.

I need not farther explain a matter so universally known; but return to my subject.

The *Hufge* faction, by a gross piece of negligence in the *Yortes*, had so far insinuated themselves and their opinions into the favour of *Regoge* before he came to the empire, that this Prince firmly believed them to be

his

his only true friends, and the others his mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The Emperor died suddenly, in his journey to *Ted-su*; where, according to his usual custom, he was going to pass the summer.

This Prince, during his whole reign, continued an absolute stranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of *Japan*; and passing his whole time among old mistresses, or a few privadoes, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a minister, upon the condition of being made easy in his personal revenues, and the management of parties in the senate. His last Minister, who governed in the most arbitrary manner for several years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other person in *Japan*, except his only son, the heir to the empire. The dislike he bore to the former was, because the minister, under pretence that he could not govern the senate without disposing of employments among them, would not suffer his master to oblige one single person, but disposed of all to his own relations and dependents. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the Prince his son, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the Historian hath not accounted for it, further than by various conjectures, which do not deserve to be related.

The minister above mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a senator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the *Yortes*. He had been formerly disgraced in the senate, for some frauds in the management of a public trust. He was perfectly skilled, by long practice, in the senatorial forms; and dextrous in the purchasing of votes, from those who could find their accounts better in complying with his measures, than they could probably lose by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He seemed to fail, in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings, never scrupling openly to lay out vast sums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchasing estates; when it was known, that, upon his first coming into business, upon the death of the Empress *Nena*, his fortune was

but inconsiderable. He had the most boldness, and the least magnanimity that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependents, in a most exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a support against an evil day. He had the best among all false appearances of courage, which was a most unlimited assurance, whereby he would swagger the boldest men into a dread of his power, but had not the smallest portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and disgracing every man, who was known to bear the least civility to those he disliked. He had some small smattering in books, but no manner of politeness; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one person upon the score of wit, learning, or abilities for business. The whole system of his ministry was corruption; and he never gave bribe or pension, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatening them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumstance.

A few months before the Emperor's death, there was a design concerted between some eminent persons of both parties, whom the desperate state of the empire had united, to accuse the minister at the first meeting of a new chosen senate, which was then to assemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vast expence he must be at in choosing an assembly proper for his purpose, added to the low state of the treasury, the increasing number of pensioners, the great discontent of the people, and the personal hatred of the Emperor; would, if well laid open in the senate, be of weight enough to sink the minister, when it should appear to his very pensioners and creatures that he could not supply them much longer.

While this scheme was in agitation, an account came of the Emperor's death, and the Prince his son, with universal joy, mounted the throne of *Japan*.

The new Emperor had always lived a private life, during the reign of his father; who, in his annual absence, never trusted him more than once with the reins of government, which he held so evenly that he became

too popular to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavourable to the *Yortes*, at least not altogether to approve the virulence wherewith his father proceeded against them; and therefore, immediately upon his succession, the principal persons of that denomination came, in several bodies, to kiss the hem of his garment, whom he received with great courtesy, and some of them with particular marks of distinction.

The Prince, during the reign of his father, having not been trusted with any public charge, employed his leisure in learning the language, the religion, the customs, and disposition of the *Japanese*; wherein he received great information, among others, from *Nomp-toc*, master of his finances, and president of the senate, who secretly hated *Lelop-Aw*, the minister; and likewise from *Ramneb*, a most eminent senator, who, despairing to do any good with the father, had, with great industry, skill, and decency, used his endeavour to instil good principles into the young Prince.

Upon the news of the former Emperor's death, a grand council was summoned of course, where little passed besides directing the ceremony of proclaiming the Successor. But, in some days after, the new Emperor having consulted with those persons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely considered in his own mind the present state of his affairs, as well as the disposition of his people, convoked another assembly of his council; wherein, after some time spent in general business, suitable to the present emergency, he directed *Lelop-Aw* to give him, in as short terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his management in the senate, and his negotiations with foreign courts: Which that minister having delivered, according to his usual manner, with much assurance and little satisfaction, the Emperor desired to be fully satisfied in the following particulars.

Whether the vast expence of chusing such members into the senate, as would be content to do the public business, were absolutely necessary?

Whether those members, thus chosen in, would cross and impede the necessary course of affairs, unless they were

were supplied with great sums of money, and continued pensions ?

Whether the same corruption and perverseness were to be expected from the Nobles ?

Whether the empire of *Japan* were in so low a condition, that the imperial Envoys, at foreign courts, must be forced to purchase alliances, or prevent a war by immense bribes, given to the ministers of all the neighbouring Princes ?

Why the debts of the empire were so prodigiously advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad ?

Whether the *Yortes* were universally enemies to the religion and laws of the Empire, and to the Imperial Family now reigning ?

Whether those persons, whose revenues consist in lands, do not give surer pledges of fidelity to the public, and are more interested in the welfare of the empire, than others whose fortunes consist only in money ?

And because *Lelop Aw*, for several years past, had engrossed the whole administration, the Emperor signified, that from him alone he expected an answer.

This minister, who had sagacity enough to cultivate an interest in the young Prince's family, during the late Emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of his emissaries of what was intended at the council, and had sufficient time to frame as plausible an answer as his cause and conduct would allow. However, having desired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner.

S I R,

Upon this short unexpected warning, to answer your Imperial Majesty's queries I should be wholly at a loss, in your Majesty's august presence, and that of this most noble assembly, if I were armed with a weaker defence than my own loyalty and integrity, and the prosperous success of my endeavours.

It is well known that the death of the Empress *Nena* happened in a most miraculous juncture ; and that,

if

if she had lived two months longer, your illustrious family would have been deprived of your right, and we should have seen an usurper upon your throne, who would have wholly changed the constitution of this empire, both civil and sacred; and although that Empress died in a most opportune season, yet the peaceable entrance of your Majesty's father was effected by a continual series of miracles. The truth of this appears by that unnatural rebellion which the *Yortes* raised, without the least provocation, in the first year of the late Emperor's reign, which may be sufficient to convince your Majesty, that every soul of that denomination was, is, and will be for ever, a favourer of the Pretender, a mortal enemy to your illustrious family, and an introducer of new gods into the empire. Upon this foundation was built the whole conduct of our affairs; and, since a great majority of the kingdom was at that time reckoned to favour the *Yorte's* faction, who, in the regular course of elections, must certainly be chosen members of the senate then to be convoked; it was necessary, by the force of money, to influence elections in such a manner, that your Majesty's father might have a sufficient number to weigh down the scale on his side, and thereby carry on those measures which could only secure him and his family in the possession of the empire. To support this original plan I came into the service: But the members of the senate, knowing themselves every day more necessary, upon the chusing of a new senate, I found the charges to increase; and that, after they were chosen, they insisted upon an increase of their pensions; because they well knew that the work could not be carried on without them: And I was more general in my donatives, because I thought it was more for the honour of the crown, that every vote should pass without a division; and that, when a debate was proposed, it should immediately be quashed, by putting the question.

SIR, The date of the present senate is expired, and your Imperial Majesty is now to convoke a new one; which, I confess, will be somewhat more expensive than the last, because the *Yortes*, from your favourable

able reception, have begun to reassume a spirit whereof the country had some intelligence; and we know the majority of the people, without proper management, would be still in that fatal interest. However, I dare undertake, with the charge only of four hundred thousand sprangs *, to return as great a majority of senators of the true stamp, as your Majesty can desire. As to the sums of money paid in foreign courts, I hope, in some years, to ease the nation of them, when we and our neighbours come to a good understanding. However, I will be bold to say, they are cheaper than a war, where your Majesty is to be a principal.

The pensions, indeed, to senators and other persons must needs increase, from the restiveness of some, and scrupulous nature of others; and the new members, who are unpractised, must have better encouragement. However, I dare undertake to bring the eventual charge within eight hundred thousand sprangs. But, to make this easy, there shall be new funds raised, of which I have several schemes ready, without taxing bread or flesh, which shall be referred to more pressing occasions.

Your Majesty knows it is the laudable custom of all Eastern Princes, to leave the whole management of affairs, both civil and military, to their Vizirs. The appointments for your family, and private purse, shall exceed those of your predecessors: You shall be at no trouble, further than to appear sometimes in council, and leave the rest to me: You shall hear no clamour or complaints: Your senate shall, upon occasions, declare you the best of Princes, the father of your country, the arbiter of Asia, the defender of the oppressed, and the delight of mankind.

SIR, Hear not those who would most falsely, impiously, and maliciously insinuate, that your government can be carried on without that wholesome, necessary expedient, of sharing the public revenue with your faithful deserving senators. This, I know, my enemies are pleased to call bribery and corruption. Be it so: But I insist, that, without this bribery and

* About a million Sterling.

and corruption, the wheels of government will not turn, or at least will be apt to take fire, like other wheels, unless they be greased at proper times. If an angel from heaven should descend, to govern this empire upon any other scheme than what our enemies call corruption, he must return from whence he came, and leave the work undone.

SIR, It is well known we are a trading nation, and consequently cannot thrive in a bargain where nothing is to be gained. The poor electors, who run from their shops, or the plough, for the service of their country, are they not to be considered for their labour and their loyalty? The candidates, who, with the hazard of their persons, the loss of their characters, and the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to the senate, in a country where they are strangers, before the very lords of the soil; are they not to be rewarded for their zeal to your Majesty's service, and qualified to live in your metropolis as becomes the lustre of their stations?

SIR, If I have given great numbers of the most profitable employments among my own relations and nearest allies, it was not out of any partiality, but because I know them best, and can best depend upon them. I have been at the pains to mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler heads might probably have been found, but they would not be equally under my direction. A huntsman, who hath the absolute command of his dogs, will hunt more effectually than with a better pack, to whose manner and cry he is a stranger.

SIR, Upon the whole, I will appeal to all those who best knew your royal father, whether that blessed Monarch had ever one anxious thought for the public, or disappointment, or uneasiness, or want of money for all his occasions, during the time of my administration? And, how happy the people confessed themselves to be under such a King, I leave to their own numerous addresses; which all politicians will allow to be the most infallible proof how any nation stands affected to the Sovereign.

Lelop-Aw,

Lelop-Aw, having ended his speech and struck his forehead thrice against the table, as the custom is in *Japan*, sat down, with great complacency of mind, and much applause of his adherents, as might be observed by their countenances and their whispers. But the Emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneasy. After a short pause, his Majesty commanded that some other counsellor should deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object against what had been spoken by *Lelop-Aw*.

OF

OF
PUBLIC ABSURDITIES

IN ENGLAND.

IT is a common topic of satire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of ministers of state, but of every whistler in office, that half a dozen obscure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a dish of coffee, shall presume to censure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form schemes of government, and new-model the commonwealth; and this usually ridiculed as a pragmatistical disposition to politics, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may possibly be true: And yet I am grossly deceived if any sober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, customs, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reason be tempted, according to the present turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were sanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the mistake of wise and good men, that they expect more reason and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any sort capable of. Whoever hath been present at councils or assemblies of any sort, if he be a man of common prudence, cannot but have observed such results and opinions to have frequently passed a majority, as he would be ashamed to advance in private conversation. I say nothing of cruelty, oppression, injustice, and the like, because these are fairly to be accounted for in all assemblies, as best gratifying the passions and interests of leaders; which is a point of such high consideration, that all others must give place to it. But I would be understood here to speak only of opinions ridiculous, foolish, and absurd; with conclusions and actions suitable to them; at the same time when the most reasonable propositions are often unanimously rejected.

And, as all assemblies of men are liable to this accusation, so likewise there are natural absurdities from which the wisest states are not exempt, which proceed less from the nature of their climate than that of their government; the *Gauls*, the *Britons*, the *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, having retained very little of the characters given them in antient history.

By these and the like reflexions, I have been often led to consider some public absurdities in our own country, most of which are, in my opinion, directly against the rules of right reason, and are attended with great inconveniencies to the state. I shall mention such of them as come into memory, without observing any method; and I shall give my reason why I take them to be absurd in their nature, and pernicious in their consequence.

It is absurd that any person, who professeth a different form of worship from that which is national, should be trusted with a vote for electing members in the House of Commons. Because every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmost to bring in a representative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion established; which, as it hath formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A standing army in *England*, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct absurdity. For, it is no part of our business to be a warlike nation, otherwise than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern, further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either assist by sea, or by foreign troops paid with our money. But mercenary troops in *England* can be of no use, except to awe senates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of senators should be of any charge to the candidates, is an absurdity; but, that it should be so to a ministry, is a manifest acknowledgment of the worst designs. If a ministry intended the service of their prince and country, or well understood wherein their own security best consisted, (as it is impossible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original

ginal institution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince, or a tolerable ministry;) they would use the strongest methods to leave the people to their own free choice: The members would then consist of persons who had best estates in the neighbourhood or county, or at least never of strangers. And surely this is at least full as requisite a circumstance to a legislator, as to a jurymán, who ought to be, if possible, *ex vicinio*; since such persons must be supposed the best judges of the wants and desires of their several boroughs and counties. To chuse a representative for *Berwick*, whose estate is at the *Land's End*, would have been thought in former times a very great solecism; how much more as it is at present, where so many persons are returned for boroughs, who do not possess a foot of land in the kingdom.

By the old constitution, whoever possessed a free-hold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty shillings a-year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the shire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the course of time, and partly by corruption. Forty shillings in those ages were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and therefore it was then a want of sagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate sum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or pasture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly absurd, and against the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is still worse: For any gentleman can, upon occasion, make as many freeholders as his estate or settlement will allow, by making leases for life of land at a rack-rent of forty shillings, where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a-year, when his rent is paid, shall be held a legal voter for a person to represent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practised upon this occasion.

It is likewise absurd, that boroughs decayed are not absolutely extinguished; because the returned members do in reality represent nobody at all, and that several large towns are not represented, though full of industrious townsmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of Senators, to have themselves and servants exempted from law-suits and arrests, is manifestly absurd. The proceedings at law are already so scandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing to pay his just debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the decision of the law, is surely but ill-qualified to be a legislator. A criminal, with as good reason, might sit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honesty. By the annual sitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and subsequent, a Senator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common justice.

That the sacred person of a Senator's footman should be free from arrest, although he undoes the poor alewife by running on score, is a circumstance of equal wisdom and justice, to avoid the great evil of his master's lady wanting her complement of liveries behind the coach.

SHORT

S H O R T
R E M A R K S
O N

BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY.

THIS author is in most particulars the worst qualified for an historian that ever I met with. His style is rough, full of improprieties, in expressions often *Scotch*, and often such as are used by the meanest people. He discovers a great scarcity of words and phrases, by repeating the same several hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His observations are mean and trite, and very often false. His Secret History is generally made up of coffee-house scandals, or at best from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the Pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of consequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little *Scotch* parson of 40 pounds a-year. He was a gentleman born, and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden, daughter of a *Scotch* Earl, to marry him. His characters are miserably wrought, in many things mistaken, and all of them detracting, except of those who were friends to the Presbyterians. That early love of liberty he boasts of is absolutely false; for the first book that I believe he ever published is an entire treatise in favour of passive obedience and absolute power; so that his reflexions on the clergy, for asserting, and then changing those principles, come very improperly from him. He is the most partial of all writers that ever pretended so much to impartiality; and yet I, who knew him

well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could possibly find in his heart; I am sure more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papist and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called *A History of Scotland* during the author's time, with some digressions relating to *England*, rather than deserve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their insignificant brangles and factions. What he succeeds best in, is in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, most of them being still in memory, especially the story of the Revolution; which, however, is not so well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had so considerable a share in it. After all, he was a man of generosity and good nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten last years, was absolute party-mad, and and fancied he saw Popery under every bush. He hath told me many passages not mentioned in this History, and many that are, but with several circumstances suppressed or altered. He never gives a good character without one essential point, that the person was tender to dissenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, Decency, and some other words and phrases, he uses many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, A pardoning planet, Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All these phrases used by the vulgar, shew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

A N
A B S T R A C T
O F T H E
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the Invasion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR to WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE most antient account we have of *Britain* is, that the island was full of inhabitants, divided into several petty kingdoms, as most nations of the world appear to have been at first. The bodies of the *Britons* were painted with a sky-coloured blue, either as an ornament or else for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were Heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the Jews.

Their priests were called Druids: These lived in hollow trees, and committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly lost.

The *Britons* had wives in common, so many to a particular tribe or society, and the children were in common to that society.

About fifty years before Christ, *Julius Cæsar*, the first Roman Emperor, having conquered *Gaul* or *France*, invaded *Britain* rather to increase his glory than conquests; for, having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invasion of *Britain* by the *Romans* (then masters of most of the known world) was in the reign of the Emperor *Claudius*; but it was not wholly subdued till that of *Nero*. It was governed by Lieutenants,
or

or Deputies, sent from *Rome*, as *Ireland* is now by Deputies from *England*; and continued thus under the *Romans* for about 460 years; till that empire, being invaded by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the *Romans* were forced not only to recal their own armies, but also to draw from hence the bravest of the *Britons*, for their assistance against those Barbarians.

The *Roman* conquests in this island reached no further northward than to that part of *Scotland* where *Stirling* and *Glasgow* are seated: The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: It was inhabited by a barbarous people, called *Caledonians* and *Picts*; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infested the *British* borders. Therefore the Emperor *Severus* built a wall, from *Stirling* to *Glasgow*, to prevent the invasions of the *Picts*: It is commonly called the *Picts Wall*.

These *Picts* and *Caledonians*, or *Scots*, encouraged by the departure of the *Romans*, do now cruelly infest and invade the *Britons* by sea and land: The *Britons* chuse *Vortigern* for their King, who was forced to invite the *Saxons*, (a fierce northern people) to assist him against those Barbarians. The *Saxons* came over, and beat the *Picts* in several battles; but, at last, pick quarrels with the *Britons* themselves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, and establish themselves in seven kingdoms in *Britain*, (by them now called *England*.) These seven kingdoms are usually stiled the *Saxon Heptarchy*.

About this time lived King *Arthur* (if the whole story be not a fable) who was so famous for beating the *Saxons* in several battles.

The *Britons* received Christianity very early, and, as is reported, from some of the disciples themselves: So that, when the *Romans* left *Britain*, the *Britons* were generally Christians. But the *Saxons* were Heathens, till *Pope Gregory* the Great sent over hither *Austin* the Monk, (*A. D.* 600.) by whom *Ethelbert* King of the *South-Saxons*, and his subjects, were converted to Christianity; and the whole island soon followed the example.

After many various revolutions in this island among the kingdoms of the *Saxons*, *Egbert*, descended from the

the *West-Saxon* Kings, (*A. D.* 819.) became sole monarch of *England*.

The language in *Britain* was *British*, (now called *Welsh*) or *Latin*; but, with the *Saxons*, *English* came in (although extremely different from what it is now.) The present names of towns, shires, &c. were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called *England* from the *Angles*, who were a branch of the *Saxons*.

As soon as the *Saxons* were settled, the *Danes* began to trouble and invade them, as they (the *Saxons*) had before done the *Britons*.

These *Danes* came out of *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, a rough warlike people, little different from the *Saxons*, to whom they were nigh neighbours.

After many invasions from the *Danes*, *Edgar* King of *England* sets forth the first navy. He was intitled King of all *Albion*, an old name of this island) and was the first absolute monarch. He made peace with the *Danes*, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the *English*.

In this Prince's time there were five Kings in *Wales*, who all did him homage for their country.

These *Danes* began first to make their invasions here about the year 800, which they after renewed at several times, and under several leaders, and were as often repulsed. They used to come with vast numbers of ships, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of *London*, *Winchester*, &c. Encouraged by success and prey, they often wintered in *England*, fortifying themselves in the northern parts, from whence they cruelly infested the *Saxon* Kings. In process of time they mixed with the *English* (as was said before) and lived under the *Saxon* government: But *Ethelred*, then King of *England*, weary of the *Danish* insolence, a conspiracy is formed, and the *Danes* are massacred (*A. D.* 978.) in one day all over *England*.

Four years after, *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, to revenge the death of his subjects, invades *England*; and, after battles fought, and much cruelty exercised, he subdues the whole kingdom, forcing *Ethelred* to fly into *Normandy*.

Sweyn

Sweyn dying, his son *Canutus* succeeds in the kingdom; but *Ethelred* returning with an army, *Canutus* is forced to withdraw to *Denmark* for succour.

Ethelred dies, and his son *Edmond Ironside* succeeds; but *Canutus* returning with fresh forces from *Denmark*, after several battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. *Edmond* dying, his sons are sent beyond sea by *Canutus*, who is now sole King of *England*.

Hardicanute, the last *Danish* King, dying without issue, *Edward*, son of *Ethelred*, is chosen King. For his great holiness, he was surnamed the *Confessor*, and fainted after his death. He was the first of our Princes that attempted to cure the King's evil, by touching. He first introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the *English* gentry, of using the *French* tongue and fashions, in compliance with the King, who had been bred up in *Normandy*.

The *Danish* government in *England* lasted but twenty-six years, under three Kings.

Edward the *Confessor* married the daughter of Earl *Godwin*, an *English* nobleman of great power, but of *Danish* extraction; but, wanting issue, he appointed *Edgar Atheling*, grandson to his brother, to succeed him, and *Harold*, son of Earl *Godwin* to be Governor of the young Prince. But, upon *Edward's* death, *Harold* neglected *Edgar Atheling*, and usurped the crown for himself.

Edward, while he was in *Normandy*, met so good reception, that it was said he made a promise to that Duke, that, in case he recovered his kingdom, and died without issue, he would leave it to him. *Edward* dying, *William* Duke of *Normandy* sends to *Harold* to claim the crown; but *Harold* now in possession, resolves to keep it. Upon which Duke *William*, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades *England*, lands at *Hastings*, sets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To *Harold* he sent his messenger, demanding the kingdom and his subjection: But *Harold* returned him this answer, That, unless he departed his land, he would make him sensible of his just displeasure. So *Harold* advanced his forces into *Sussex*,

sex, within seven miles of his enemy. The *Norman* Duke, to save the effusion of blood, sent these offers to *Harold*; either wholly to resign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in single combat. To this *Harold* did not agree.

Then the battle joined. The *Normans* had gotten the worst, if it had not been for a stratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement *Harold* was killed, and *William* Duke of *Normandy* became King of *England*, under the name of *William* the Conqueror.

SOME

SOME FEW
T H O U G H T S
CONCERNING

THE REPEAL OF THE TEST.

THOSE of either side who have written upon this subject of the Test, in making or answering objections, seem to fail by not pressing sufficiently the chief point upon which the controversy turns. The arguments used by those who write for the church are very good in their kind, but will have little force under the present corruptions of mankind, because the authors treat this subject *tanquam in republica Platonis, et non sœce Romuli*.

It must be confessed, that, considering how few employments of any consequence fall to the share of those *English* who are born in this kingdom, and those few very dearly purchased, at the expence of conscience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for: And, if nothing but profit were in the case, it would hardly cost me one sigh when I should see those few scraps thrown among every species of Fanatics, to scuffle for among themselves.

And this will infallibly be the case, after repealing the Test. For, every subdivision of sect will, with equal justice, pretend to have a share; and, as it is usual with sharers, will never think they have enough, while

while any pretender is left unprovided. I shall not except the Quakers; because, when the passage is once let open for all sects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulness of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons, may be revealed to the brotherhood; which thought, I confess, was first put into my head by one of the shrewdest Quakers in this kingdom *.

* Undoubtedly the Quaker hinted at by Dr *Swift* was the late Mr *Rooke*; a man who had a very good taste for wit, had read abundance of history, and was perhaps the most learned Quaker, one of them, in the world. To the best of my recollection, he was the author of a good humorous pastoral in the Quaker-*style*.

VOL. X.

L

MAXIMS

M A X I M S

C O N T R O L L E D

I N I R E L A N D.

The Truth of some Maxims in State and Government, examined with reference to Ireland.

TH E R E are certain Maxims of State, founded upon long observation and experience, drawn from the constant practice of the wisest nations, and from the very principles of government, nor ever controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all these Maxims do necessarily presuppose a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the same natural rights common to the rest of mankind who have entered into civil society. For, if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain that, before you could institute them into a republic, an allowance must be made for those material defects, wherein they differed from other mortals. Or, imagine a legislator forming a system for the government of *Bedlam*, and, proceeding upon the maxim that man is a sociable animal, should draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general assemblies; the consequence might probably be, that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the house over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors, committed by crude and short thinkers, who reason upon general topics, without the least allowance for the most important circumstances, which quite alter the nature of the case.

This hath been the fate of those small dealers, who are every day publishing their thoughts either on paper or in their assemblies for improving the trade of *Ireland*, and referring us to the practice and example of *England, Holland, France*, or other nations.

I shall

I shall therefore examine certain maxims of government, which generally pass for uncontrolled in the world, and consider how far they will suit with the present condition of this kingdom.

First, it is affirmed by wise men, that the dearness of things necessary for life, in a fruitful country, is a certain sign of wealth and great commerce: For, when such necessaries are dear, it must absolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifestly false in *Ireland*, for the following reason. Some years ago, the species of money here did probably amount to six or seven hundred thousand pounds; and I have good cause to believe, that our remittances then did not much exceed the cash brought in to us. But the prodigious discouragements we have since received in every branch of our trade, by the frequent enforcements, and rigorous execution of the navigation-act, the tyranny of under custom-house officers, the yearly addition of absentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers residing in *England*, the unexpected sudden demands of great sums from the treasury, and some other drains of perhaps as great consequence, we now see ourselves reduced to a state (since we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies, at least, if our enemies were of such a kind as to be capable of any regards towards us, except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now passed since the Revolution, when the contention of the *British* empire was, most unfortunately for us, and altogether against the usual course of such mighty changes in government, decided in the least important nation, but with such ravages and ruin executed on both sides, as to leave the kingdom a desert, which, in some sort, it still continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641 make half such a destruction of houses, plantations, and personal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years campaigns did in ours, by fighting *England's* battles.

By slow degrees, and by the gentle treatment we received under two auspicious reigns, we grew able to live without running in debt. Our absentees were but few, we had great indulgence in trade, a con-

siderable share in employments of church and state; and, while the short leases continued, which were let some years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with ease and chearfulness, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a spirit of oppression that is not easy removed. And although, in these short leases, the rent was gradually to increase after short periods; yet, as soon as the term elapsed, the land was let to the highest bidder, most commonly without the least effectual clause for building or planting. Yet by many advantages, which this island then possessed, and hath since utterly lost, the rents of lands still grew higher upon every lease that expired, till they have arrived at the present exorbitance: when the frog, overswelling himself, burst at last.

With the price of land, of necessity rose that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in: Hence likewise, obviously, the rates of all goods and manufactures among shopkeepers, the wages of servants, and hire of labourers. But, although our miseries came on fast, with neither trade nor money left, yet, neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent must be paid with, nor any shopkeeper, tradesman, or labourer live at lower expence, for food and cloathing, than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this first head, because the same observations will clear up and strengthen a good deal of what I shall affirm upon the rest.

The second Maxim of those who reason upon trade and government, is to assert, that low interest is a certain sign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of *Holland* and *England*. But, with relation to *Ireland*, this Maxim is likewise entirely false.

There are two reasons for the lowness of interest in any country. First, that which is usually alledged, the great plenty of specie; and this is obvious. The second is the want of trade, which seldom falls under common observation, although it be equally true. For, where trade is altogether discouraged, there are few borrowers. In those countries where men can employ
a large

a large stock, the young merchant, whose fortune may be four or five hundred pounds, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reasonable interest. Neither is it easy at this day to find many of those, whose business reaches to employ even so inconsiderable a sum, except among the importers of wine; who, as they have most part of the present trade in these parts of *Ireland* in their hands, so they are the most exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all possible speed to ruin both themselves and the nation.

From this defect of gentlemens not knowing how to dispose of their ready money, ariseth the high purchase of lands, which in all other countries is reckoned a sign of wealth. For, the frugal squires, who live below their incomes, have no other way to dispose of their savings but by mortgage or purchase, by which the rates of land must naturally increase; and, if this trade continues long under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to send their cash to *England*, and place it in the funds; which I myself am determined to do, the first considerable sum I shall be master of.

It hath likewise been a maxim among politicians, that the great increase of buildings in the metropolis argues a flourishing state. But this, I confess, hath been controlled, from the example of *London*; where, by the long and annual parliamentary sessions, such a number of senators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw such prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hospitable custom of lords and gentlemen living in their antient seats, among their tenants, is almost lost in *England*; is laughed out of doors; in so much that, in the middle of summer, a legal House of Lords and Commons might be brought in a few hours to *London*, from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The case in *Ireland* is yet somewhat worse: For the absentees of great estates, who, if they lived at home, would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, having learned to rack their lands, and shorten their leases, as much as any residing squire; and the

few remaining of these latter, having some vain hope of employments for themselves or their children, and discouraged by the beggarliness and thievery of their own miserable farmers and cottagers, or seduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education, (whereof the fruits are so apparent) together with that most wonderful and yet more unaccountable zeal for a seat in their assembly, though at some years purchase of their whole estates. These, and some other motives better let pass, have drawn such a concourse to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the several branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses, while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a seventh part of the whole city, are said to be left uninhabited, and falling to ruin. Their method is the same with that which was first introduced by Dr *Barebone* at *London*, who died a bankrupt. The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houses, unite their credit, their stock, and their money, and, when their work is finished, sell it to the best advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not answer half their design, they are forced to undersell it at the first story, and are all reduced to beggary. In so much that I kuow a certain fanatic brewer*, who is reported to have some hundreds of houses in this town, is said to have purchased the greater part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, hath intelligence of all new houses where the finishing is at a stand, takes advantage of the builder's distress, and, by the advantage of ready money, gets fifty *per cent.* at least for his bargain.

It is another undisputed maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is so universally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that, if we had the *African* custom or privilege, of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most unsupportable burden, and

* *Leezon.*

and bringing us money in their stead. But, in our present situation, at least five children in six who are bornly a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very skillful computer assured me, that above one half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery, whereof two thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour: Where that fails, the poorer native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wish, for some years past, that, instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, that the public would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals, whether Papists or Protestants, to *America*, as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overstocked. I confess myself to be touched with a very sensible pleasure, when I hear of a mortality in any country-parish or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabbin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth, brought up to steal or beg, for want of work; to whom death would be the best thing to be wished for, on account both of themselves and the public.

Among all taxes imposed by the legislature, those upon luxury are universally allowed to be the most equitable and beneficial to the subject; and the commonest reasoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the subject. Yet here again, by the singular fate of *Ireland*, this maxim is utterly false; and the putting it in practice may have such pernicious a consequence, as I certainly believe the thoughts of the proposers were not able to reach.

The miseries we suffer by our absentees are of a far more extensive nature than seems to be commonly understood. I must vindicate myself to the reader so far as to declare solemnly, that what I shall say of those lords and squires, doth not arise from the least regard I have for their understandings, their virtues, or their persons. For, although I have not the honour of the least acquaintance with any one among them. (my ambition not soaring so high) yet I am too good a witness of the situation they have been in for thirty years past,
the

the veneration paid them by the people, the high esteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and distinction they receive from the court: The weight and consequence of their interest, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardships their country might suffer from *England*, wisely considering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the same bottom.

SENT

SENT TO
DOCTOR SWIFT,
BY
A QUAKER,

When three hundred pounds were bid for taking up
the DRAPIER.

1 SAM. Chap. xvi. ver. 45.

"AND the people said unto *Saul*, Shall *Jonathan*
"die, who hath wrought this great salvation in
"Israel? God forbid: As the LORD liveth, there
"shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground;
"for he wrought with God this day. So the people
"rescued *Jonathan*, that he died not."

DOING

DOING GOOD:

A

S E R M O N,

On the Occasion of WOOD'S PROJECT.

Written in the Year M, D C C, X X I V.

GALATIANS, vi. 10.

*As we have therefore opportunity, let us do Good
unto all men.*

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to consult our own private good before the private good of any other person whatsoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our neighbour as ourselves, but not as well as ourselves. The love we have for ourselves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have towards our neighbour: But, as the copy doth not equal the original, so my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myself, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myself first, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in persuading you to; for the want of self-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other side, if, by a small hurt and loss to myself, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that case his interest is to be preferred. For example, if I can be sure of saving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preserve him from being undone, without ruining myself, or recovering his reputation without blasting mine;

mine ; all this I am obliged to do : And, if I sincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myself.

But, beside this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extensive nature incumbent on us ; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the commonwealth, under the same government with ourselves ; and this is usually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we are more strictly obliged than even that of loving ourselves ; because therein ourselves are also contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the public, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in ancient times properly known by the name of *Virtue*, because it was the greatest of all virtues, and was supposed to contain all virtues in it : And many great examples of this virtue are left us on record, scarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in such a base, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In those times it was common for men to sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of future rewards ; whereas, in our days, very few make the least scruple of sacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own souls, for a little present gain ; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly must in that to come.

Have we not seen men, for the sake of some petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themselves must at last be involved ? Are not these corruptions gotten among the meanest of our people, who, for a piece of money, will give their votes at a venture, for the disposal of their own lives and fortunes, without considering whether it be to those who are most likely to betray or defend them ?

But, if I were to produce only one instance of a hundred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endless labour ; and therefore I shall not attempt it.

But here I would not be misunderstood : By the
love

love of our country I do not mean loyalty to our King, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal, in the common sense of the word, without one grain of public good at his heart. Witness this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that, since the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever shewed (all circumstances considered) such high constant marks of loyalty in all their actions and behaviour as we have done: And, at the same time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I say the people, I mean the bulk or mass of the people, for I have nothing to do with those in power.

Therefore I shall think my time not ill spent, if I can persuade most or all of you who hear me, to shew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your several stations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly persuaded, that all our misfortunes arise from no other original cause than that general disregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to shew you three things.

First, That there are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public.

And *lastly*, That all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, There are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wise man who saved a city by his counsel. It hath often happened, that a private soldier, by some unexpected brave attempt, hath been instrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obscure men have been authors of very useful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benefit? The very example of honesty and industry in a poor tradesman will sometimes spread through a neighbourhood, when others see how successful he is; and thus so many useful members are gained, for which the whole body

dy of the public is the better. Whoever is blessed with a true public spirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make use of that blessing, for the ends it was given him, by some means or other: And therefore it hath been observed in most ages, that the greatest actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wisdom or courage, the contrivance or industry of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the safety of a kingdom hath often been owing to those hands from whence it was least expected.

But, *Secondly*, it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public: And hence arise most of those miseries with which the states and kingdoms of the earth are infested. How many great princes have been murdered by the meanest ruffians? The weakest hand can open a flood-gate to drown a country, which a thousand of the strongest cannot stop. Those who have thrown off all regard for public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exercise that power whenever they can. The greatest blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the dishonesty of a few manufacturers; who, by imposing bad ware at foreign markets, in almost the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now suffers in the midst of sufferings. I speak not here of persons in high stations, who ought to be free from all reflection, and are supposed always to intend the welfare of the community: But we now find by experience, that the meanest instrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of destruction, and is at this present endeavouring to finish his work; and hath agents among ourselves, who are contented to see their own country undone, to be small sharers in that iniquitous gain, which at last must end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confess, it was chiefly the consideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to discourse to you on this subject; to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public spirit, when all you have is at stake; to prefer the interest of your

Prince and your fellow subjects before that of one destructive impostor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by some, that this way of discoursing is not so proper from the pulpit. But surely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-house, to deprive us of all means to exercise hospitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a desert for wild beasts and robbers, to destroy all arts and sciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obscure ill designing projector, and his followers; it is time for the pastor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to stand together, and all to consult the common safety. And God be praised for his infinite goodness in raising such a spirit of union among us, at least in this point, in the midst of all our former divisions; which union, if it continue, will in all probability, defeat the pernicious design of this pestilent enemy to the nation.

But, from hence, it clearly follows how necessary the love of our country, or a public spirit, is in every particular man, since the wicked have so many opportunities of doing public mischief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private advantage; but, where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, considering himself only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loss is equally shared, and thus, he thinks, he can be no great sufferer. Meanwhile the trader, the farmer, and the shop-keeper, complain of the hardness and deadness of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great measure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public spirit and firm union among themselves, which are so necessary to the prosperity of every nation.

Another method by which the meanest wicked man may have it in his power to injure the public, is false accusation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: Neither is it long since no man, whose opinions were thought to differ from those in fashion, could safely converse beyond his nearest friends, for
fear

fear of being sworn against, as a traitor, by those who made a traffic of perjury and subornation; by which the very peace of the nation was disturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got loose. And, it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of these false accusers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the lives of several innocent persons here among us; and, indeed, there could not be a more proper instrument for such a work.

Another method by which the meanest people may do injury to the public, is the spreading of lies and false rumours, thus raising a distrust among the people of a nation, causing them to mistake their true interest, and their enemies for their friends: And this hath been likewise too successful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom misled by the grossest lies, raised upon occasion to serve some particular turn. As it hath also happened in the case I lately mentioned, where one obscure man, by representing our wants where they were least, and concealing them where they were greatest, had almost succeeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may still succeed, if God doth not continue that public spirit, which he hath almost miraculously kindled in us upon this occasion.

Thus we see the public is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meanest instrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it mischief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breasts, and against which there can be no defence, but a firm resolution in all honest men, to be closely united and active in shewing their love to their country, by preferring the public interest to their present private advantage. If a passenger, in a great storm at sea, should hide his goods that they might not be thrown over board to lighten the ship, what would be the consequence? The ship is cast away, and he loses his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greediness of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation,

which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families perished first. Let those among us consider this and tremble, whose houses are privately stored with those materials of beggary and desolation, lately brought over to be scattered like pestilence among their countrymen, which may probably first seize upon themselves and their families, until their houses shall be made a dunghill.

I shall mention one practice more, by which the meanest instruments often succeed in doing public mischief; and this is by deceiving us with plausible arguments, to make us believe that the most ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the case so often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their small dealings, did not discover the serpent in the brass, but were ready, like the *Israelites*, to offer incense to it; neither could the wisdom of the nation convince them, until some, of good intentions, made the cheat so plain to their sight, that those who run may read. And thus the design was to treat us, in every point, as the *Philistines* treated *Samson*; (I mean when he was betrayed by *Dalilah*) first to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of brass.

I proceed to the last thing I proposed, which was to shew you that all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, It is apparent from Scripture, and most agreeable to reason, that the safety and welfare of nations are under the most peculiar care of God's providence.

Thus he promised *Abraham* to save *Sodom*, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reason which God gave to *Jonas* for not destroying *Nineveh* was, because there were six-score thousand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order, and therefore whoever attempts to breed confusion or disturbance among a people, doth his utmost to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the devil, who is the author of confusion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous soever, committed against particular

far persons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders against their country lie under this grievous difficulty, that it is next to impossible to obtain a pardon, or make restitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at resenting injuries, and very slow in forgiving them: And how shall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? How shall those, who, by a most destructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? How will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they should no farther succeed? The deplorable case of such wretches, must entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies of God: For those who know the least in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmost endeavours to make restitution to the person injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a sincere repentance, there is no hope of salvation given in the Gospel.

Lastly, All offences against our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe those laws which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nourish us, so that it is usually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magistrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly shewn you how terrible a sin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is so highly necessary, when every man's endeavour will be of use. We have hitherto been just able to support ourselves under many hardships; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious King, as well as to ourselves. Let us therefore preserve that public spirit,

which God hath raised in us for our own temporal interest. For, if this wicked project should succeed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we sell ourselves for nought; the merchant, the shop-keeper, the artificer, must fly to the desert with their miserable families, there to starve or live upon rapine, or at least exchange their country for one more hospitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to say to you, who are under my care, to warn you against those temporal evils, which may draw the worst of spiritual evils after them; such as heart-burnings, murmurings, discontents, and all manner of wickedness which a desperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am sensible that what I have now said will not go very far, being confined to this assembly; but I hope it may stir up others of my brethren to exhort their several congregations, after a more effectual manner, to shew their love for their country on this important occasion. And this, I am sure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of state.

I pray God protect his most gracious Majesty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, suborners, perjurers, false accusers, and oppressors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our King, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg for *Jesus Christ* his sake: To whom, &c.

A P R O.

A P R O P O S A L

T H A T

All the LADIES and WOMEN of IRELAND should appear constantly in *Irish* Manufactures.

Written in the Year M,D C C, X X I X.

THERE was a treatise written about nine years ago, to persuade the people of *Ireland* to wear their own manufactures*. This treatise was allowed to have not one syllable in it of party or disaffection, but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occasioned by the utter want of trade in every branch, except that ruinous importation of all foreign extravagancies from other countries. This treatise was presented, by the Grand-jury of the city and county of *Dublin*, as a scandalous, seditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city Grand-jury, but the foreman for the county was one Dr *Seal*, register to the Archbishop of *Dublin*, wherein he differed much from the sentiments of his Lord. The Printer was tried before the late Mr *Whitbet*, that famous Lord Chief-Justice; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared upon his salvation that the author was a Jacobite, and had a design to beget a quarrel between the two nations. In the midst of this prosecution, about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which just served to make them drunk for a week; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or strolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The Duke of *Grafton*, who was then Lieutenant, being perfectly ashamed of so infamous and unpopular a proceeding,

* See Vol. III.

proceeding, obtained from *England* a *noli prosequi* for the Printer. Yet the Grand-jury had solemn thanks given them from the Secretary of State.

I mention this passage (perhaps too much forgotten) to shew how dangerous it hath been for the best meaning person to write one syllable in the defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in.

And, to prove this truth, I will produce one instance more; wholly omitting the famous case of the Drapier, and the proclamation against him, as well as the perverseness of another jury against the same Mr *Whitchet*, who was violently bent to act the second part in another scene.

About two years ago there was a small paper printed, which was called *A short View of the State of Ireland**, relating the several causes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to *Ireland*. *Whitchet* was dead, and consequently the printer was not troubled. *Mist*, the famous journalist, happened to reprint this paper in *London*, for which his press-folks were prosecuted for almost a twelvemonth; and, for ought I know, are not yet discharged.

This is our case; inasmuch, that, although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in some company, for fear of being thought disaffected.

But since I am determined to take care, that the author of this paper shall not be discovered, (following herein the most prudent practice of the Drapier) I will venture to affirm, that the three seasons wherein our corn hath miscarried, did no more contribute to our present misery, than one spoonful of water thrown upon a rat already drowned would contribute to his death; and that the present plentiful harvest, although it should be followed by a dozen ensuing, would no more restore us, than it would the rat aforesaid to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his furcoat, but never bring him back to life.

The short of the matter is this: The distresses of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and so have been doing for above a dozen years past.

If

* See Vol. III.

If you demand from whence these distresses have arisen, I desire to ask the following question.

If two thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return, and if the said kingdom be forbidden the most profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing those commodities which are most ruinous to itself, how shall that kingdom stand?

If this question were formed into the first proposition of an hypothetical syllogism, I defy the man born in *Ireland*, who is now in the fairest way of getting a collectorship, or a cornet's post, to give a good reason for denying it.

Let me put another case. Suppose a gentleman's estate of 200 *l.* a year should sink to one hundred, by some accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not, and suppose the said gentleman utterly hopeless and unqualified ever to retrieve the loss; how is he otherwise to proceed in his future oeconomy, than by reducing it on every article to one half less, unless he will be content to fly his country, or rot in jail? This is a representation of *Ireland's* condition, only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propose a full remedy for this, that shall ever be granted, but only a small prolongation of life, until God shall miraculously dispose the hearts of our neighbours, our kinsmen, our fellow Protestants, fellow subjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to starve, without running further in debt. I am informed that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that fashionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000 *l.*; which is, at least, one third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our absentees and other foreign drains are paid, and about 50,000 *l.* more than all the cash.

It seems there are several schemes for raising a fund to pay the interest of this formidable sum, (not the principal, for this is allowed impossible.) The necessity of raising such a fund is strongly and regularly pleaded from the late deficiencies in the duties and customs. And is it the fault of *Ireland* that these funds are deficient?

cient? If they depend on trade, can it possibly be otherwise, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor business to employ them, if we had? Our diseases are visible enough, both in their causes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impossible to be applied.

If my steward comes and tells me, that my rents are sunk so low that they are very little more than sufficient to pay my servants their wages, have I any other course left, than to cashier four in six of my rascally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whose insolence the whole neighbourhood complains. And I should think it extremely severe in any law, to force me to maintain a household of fifty servants, and fix their wages, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legislators.

To return from digressing: I am told one scheme for raising a fund to pay the interest of our national debt, is by a further duty of forty shillings a ton upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this matter much further by raising it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition. Thus weakly arguing from the practice of *England*.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in discourse, that there is no topic so fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in *Ireland* from the example of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, or any other country, whose inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of human kind. I could undertake to name six or seven of the most uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly false in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any person may deliver his opinion upon it, until it shall have passed into a law; and, till then, I declare mine to be positively against it.

First, Because there is no nation yet known, in either hemisphere, where the people of all conditions are more in want of some cordial to keep up their spirits, than in this of ours. I am not in jest; and, if the fact will not be allowed me, I shall not argue it.

Secondly,

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty shillings additional on every ton of wine (which will be double at least to the home-consumer) will increase equally every new session of parliament, until perhaps it comes to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Because, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like instances in *England*, this additional tax will more probably lessen this branch of the revenue, than increase it. And therefore Sir *John Stanley*, a commissioner of the customs, in *England*, used to say, That the House of Commons were generally mistaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four. Thus, if you should lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raisins or sugar, the revenue, instead of rising, would certainly sink: and the consequence would only be, to lessen the number of plum-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewise assured by merchants, that, upon this additional forty shillings, the *French* will at least equally raise their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers upon the balance by our trade with *France* for several years past; and, although our gain amounts to no great sum, we ought to be satisfied, since we are no losers, with the only consolation we are capable of receiving.

Lastly, The worst consequence is behind. If we raise the duty on wine to a considerable height, we lose the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable estates. I am confident, there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a year and upwards, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to consider whether he should live here or in *England*, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of *England*, as in some very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift, and prudence in economy, which passes there without reproach, (and chiefly in *London* itself) would amply make up the difference.

But

But the article of *French* wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune: And this is it which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the scale with those few landed men disengaged from employments, who content themselves to live hospitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obscurity in another, with bad, or with none at all

Having therefore, as far as in me lies, abolished this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the least concern about paying the interest of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wisdom of the Honourable House of Commons: I come now to consider by what methods we may be able to put off, and delay our utter undoing as long as it is possible.

I never have discouraged any reasonable man upon this subject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us, but to lessen the importation of all unnecessary commodities, as much as it was possible; and likewise, either to persuade our absentees to spend their money at home, which is impossible, or tax them at five shillings in the pound during their absence, with such allowances, upon necessary occasions, as it shall be thought convenient; or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three last methods are treated by Mr *Prior*, in his most useful treatise, added to his list of absentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride, and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them. that we owe this insupportable grievance of bringing in the instruments of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near ninety thousand pounds worth of silk, whereof the greater part is manufactured: Thirty thousand pounds more is expended in muslin, holland, cambric, and callicoe. What the price of lace amounts to, is not easy to be collected from the custom-house-book, being a kind of goods that takes up little room, and is easily run; but, considering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dress, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a yard, must be very great. The tea, rated at seven shillings *per* pound,
comes

comes to near twelve thousand pounds; but, considering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, sempstress, and tradesman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, must needs cost the kingdom double that sum. Coffee is somewhat above 7,000 *l.* I have seen no account of chocolate, and some other *Indian* or *American* goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000 *l.* The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000 *l.* The lavishing of all which money is just as prudent and necessary, as to see a man in an embroidered coat begging out of *Newgate* in an old shoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw silk is less pernicious; because we have some share in the manufacture; but we are not now in circumstances to trifle. It costs us above 40,000 *l.* a year: And if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country shifts, I wish they may go in rags. Let them vye with each other in the fineness of their native linen: Their beauty and gentleness will as well appear, as if they were covered over with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is so weak, as to hope or expect that such a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough, hearty, unanimous vote, in both Houses of Parliament, might perhaps answer as well: Every senator, noble or plebeian, giving his honour, that neither himself, nor any of his family, would, in their dress or furniture of their houses, make use of any thing except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would use the utmost of their power, influence and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependents, and friends, to follow their example.

THE
S U B S T A N C E
O F

What was said by the DEAN of ST PATRICK'S to the LORD MAYOR and some of the ALDERMEN, when his Lordship came to present the said DEAN with his Freedom in a Gold-box.

W H E N his Lordship had said a few words, and presented the instrument, the Dean gently put it back, and desired first to be heard. He said, He was much obliged to his Lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him: That it was true this honour was mingled with a little mortification, by the delay which attended it; but which, however, he did not impute to his Lordship or the city: And that the mortification was the less, because he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a mistake; for which opinion he would tell his reason. He said, It was well known, that, some time ago, a person with a title was pleased, in two great assemblies, to rattle bitterly some body without a name, under the injurious appellations of a *Tory*, a *Jacobite*, an enemy to King *George*, and a libeller of the government; which character, the Dean said that many people thought, was applied to him: But he was unwilling to be of that opinion, because the person who had delivered those abusive words had, for several years, cared and courted, and solicited his friendship more than any man in either kingdom had ever done; by inviting him to his house in town and country, by coming to the Deanry often, and calling or sending almost every day

day when the Dean was sick, with many other particulars of the same nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the said person made those invectives in the Council and House of Lords. Therefore, that the Dean would by no means think those scurrilous words could be intended against him; because such a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, justice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the Dean will endeavour to believe, that the said person had some other object in his thoughts, and it was only the uncharitable custom of the world that applied this character to him. However, that he would insist on this argument no longer: But one thing he would affirm and declare, without assigning any name or making any exception, That, whoever either did or does, or shall hereafter at any time, charge him with the character of a Jacobite, an enemy to King *George*, or a libeller of the government, the said accusation was, is, and will be false, malicious, slanderous, and altogether groundless. And, he would take the freedom to tell his Lordship and the rest that stood by, that he had done more service to the *Hanover*-title, and more disservice to the Pretender's cause, than forty thousand of those noisy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature hath denied any talent that could be of use to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and spitting their venom, against all who differ from them in their destructive principles both in church and state. That he confessed it was sometimes his misfortune to dislike some things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had often the honour to agree with wise and good men; but this did by no means affect either his loyalty to his Prince, or love to his country. But, on the contrary, he protested that such dislikes never arose in him from any other principles, than the duty he owed to the King, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and ministers long enough, and knew too well that the best ministers might mistake in points of great importance; and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at least full as honest as any can be

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at present. The Dean further said, That, since he had been so falsely represented, he thought it became him to give some account of himself for above twenty years, if it were only to justify his Lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him. He related briefly how, merely by his own personal credit, without other assistance, and in two journeys at his own expence, he had procured a grant of the first fruits to the clergy, in the late Queen's time; for which he thought he deserved some gentle treatment from his brethren. That, during all the administration of the said ministry, he had been a constant advocate for those who are called the Whigs; had kept many of them in their employments, both in *England* and here, and some who were afterwards the first to lift up their heels against him. He reflected a little upon the severe treatment he had met with upon his return to *Ireland* after her Majesty's death, and for some years after. That, being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public service, than by employing all the little money he could save, and lending it, without interest, in small sums to poor industrious tradesmen, without examining their party or their faith. And God had so far pleased to bless his endeavours, that his managers tell him he hath recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed most of them in a comfortable way of life. The Dean related how much he had suffered in his purse, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a most iniquitous judge*; who, to gratify his ambition and rage of party, had condemned an innocent book, written with no worse a design, than to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures. How the said judge had endeavoured to get a jury to his mind, but they proved so honest, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and send them back nine times, until, at last, they were compelled to leave the printer† to the mercy of the court. And the Dean was forced to procure a *noli prosequi* from a Noble Person, then secretary of state, who had been his old friend. The Dean then freely confessed himself

* See the Note Vol. III. p. 80.

† Harding.

self to be author of those books called the *Drapier's Letters*, spoke gently of the proclamation offering 300 *l.* to discover the writer. He said, That although a certain person was pleased to mention those books in a slight manner at a public assembly, yet he (the Dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thousand to one in the kingdom who differed from that person; and the people of *England*, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in *France*, were all of the same opinion. The Dean mentioned several other particulars, some of which, those from whom I had the account could not recollect, and others, although of great consequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him. The Dean concluded with acknowledging to have expressed his wishes, that an inscription might have been graven on the box, shewing some reason why the city thought fit to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a person in a private station; those distinctions being usually made only to chief governors, or persons in very high employments.

THOUGHTS

ON

RELIGION.

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reason; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act sometimes by other mens reason, but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reason fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reason.

To say a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor sense.

You may force men, by interest or punishment, to say or swear they believe, and to act as if they believed: You can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the possession of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or disturbing the public.

Violent zeal for truth hath an hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption wherein some nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment; till which time particular men should be quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impossible, and the attempt wicked, whether those opinions be true or false; unless your avowed design be to abolish that religion altogether. So, for instance, in the famous doctrine of Christ's divinity, which hath been universally received by all bodies of Christians, since the
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the condemnation of *Arianism* under *Constantine* and his successors: Wherefore the proceedings of the *Socinians* are both vain and unwarrantable; because they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other success than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world. *Qui ratione sua disturbant moenia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome.

The Christian religion, in the most early times, was proposed to the *Jews* and *Heathens* without the article of Christ's divinity; which, I remember, *Erasmus* accounts for, by its being too strong a meat for babes. Perhaps, if it were now softened by the *Chinese* missionaries, the conversion of those infidels would be less difficult: And we find by the *Alcoran*, it is the great stumbling-block of the *Mahometans*. But, in a country already Christian, to bring so fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no consequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find *St Paul's* allegories, and other figures of *Grecian* eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his works, but divines of all sorts lessen that mercy too much.

I look upon myself, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by Providence for defending a post assigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cause is just, yet one great motion is my submitting to the pleasure of Providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and less from reason or good policy.

I never

I never saw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Christianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular but some degree of persecution.

Those fine gentlemen who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parsons themselves, and shew us better examples.

Miserable mortals ! can we contribute to the *honour and glory of God* ? I could wish that expression were struck out of our Prayer-books.

Liberty of conscience, properly speaking, is no more than the liberty of possessing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magistrate : But how far he shall publicly act in pursuance of those opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy ; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples. It is the same case in religion, although not so avowed, where liberty of conscience, under the present acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at least convulsions and disturbances in a state ; which politicians would see well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which these kingdoms, as well as *France, Sweden*, and other countries, are flaming instances. *Cromwell's* notion upon this article was natural and right ; when, upon the surrender of a town in *Ireland*, the Popish governor insisted upon an article for liberty of conscience, *Cromwell* said, he meddled with no man's conscience ; but, if by liberty of conscience, the governor meant the liberty of the Mass, he had express orders from the parliament of *England* against admitting any such liberty at all.

It is impossible that any thing so natural, so necessary, and so universal as death, should ever have been designed by Providence as an evil to mankind.

Although

Although reason were intended by Providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that, in two points of the greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our passions to prevail over reason. The first is, the propagation of our species, since no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise, and wish it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.

FURTHER

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

THE Scripture-system of man's creation is what Christians are bound to believe, and seems most agreeable of all others to probability and reason. *Adam* was formed from a piece of clay, and *Eve* from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beasts of the field and birds of the air. As to *Eve*, it doth not appear that her husband was her monarch, only she was to be his help meet, and placed in some degree of subjection. However, before his fall, the beasts were his most obedient subjects, whom he governed by absolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the course of nature was changed, the animals began to reject his government; some were able to escape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in *Adam* over his posterity, who were cotemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood; whereof the first was *Nimrod*, the mighty hunter, who, as *Milton* expresseth it, made men, and not beasts, his prey. For men were easier caught by promises, and subdued by the folly or treachery of their own species. Whereas, the brutes prevailed only by their courage or strength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and some other animals are strong or valiant, and their species never degenerates in their native soil, except they happen to be enslaved or destroyed by human fraud: But men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverseness, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity of their own kind.

A PRAYER

A P R A Y E R F O R S T E L L A.

ALmighty and most gracious Lord God, extend, we beseech thee, thy pity and compassion towards this thy languishing servant: Teach her to place her hope and confidence entirely in thee; give her a true sense of the emptiness and vanity of all earthly things; make her truly sensible of all the infirmities of her life past, and grant to her such a true sincere repentance as is not to be repented of. Preserve her, O Lord, in a sound mind and understanding, during this thy visitation; keep her from both the sad extremes of presumption and despair. If thou shalt please to restore her to her former health, give her grace to be ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep those good resolutions she now makes in her sickness, so that no length of time, nor prosperity, may entice her to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes distract her mind, and prevent the means towards her recovery, or disturb her in her preparations for a better life. We beseech thee also, O Lord, of thy infinite goodness to remember the good actions of this thy servant; that the naked she hath clothed, the hungry she hath fed, the sick and the fatherless whom she hath relieved, may be reckoned, according to thy gracious promise, as if they had been done unto thee. Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy servant in her behalf, and especially those now made by us unto thee.

Give

Give thy blessing to those endeavours used for her recovery ; but take from her all violent desire, either of life or death, further than with resignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together ; grant that the sense of this thy servant's weakness may add strength to our faith, that we, considering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance before it shall please thee to visit us in the like manner. Accept these prayers, we beseech thee, for the sake of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord ; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. Amen.

A S E R.

S E R M O N.

I. Cor. iii. 19.

The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.

IT is remarkable that, about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flourished to a very great degree, insomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even such who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praise and opinion of the wisdom and virtue of the *Gentile* sages of those days, and likewise of those antient philosophers who went before them, whose doctrines are left upon record either by themselves or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be said, that the Providence of God brought this about for several very wise ends and purposes. For, it is certain that these philosophers had been a long time before searching out where to fix the true happiness of man; and, not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not possibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that all their inquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitless; the consequence of which must be not only an acknowledgment of the weakness of all human wisdom, but likewise an open passage hereby made, for the letting in those beams of light, which the glorious sunshine of the gospel then brought into the world, by revealing those hidden truths, which they had so long before been labouring to discover, and fixing the general happiness of mankind beyond all controversy and dispute. And therefore the Providence of God wisely suffered men of deep genius and learning then to arise, who should search into the truth of the gospel now made

known, and canvass its doctrines with all the subtilty and knowledge they were masters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wisdom only which cometh from above. *James* iii. 15, 16, 17.

However, to make a further inquiry into the truth of this observation, I doubt not but there is reason to think that a great many of those encomiums given to antient philosophers are taken upon trust, and by a sort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an inquiry that would employ so much time and thinking. For the usual ends why men affect this kind of discourse, appear generally to be either out of ostentation, that they may pass upon the world for persons of great knowledge and observation; or, what is worse, there are some who highly exalt the wisdom of those *Gentile* sages, thereby obliquely to glance at and traduce Divine Revelation, and more especially that of the gospel; for the consequence they would have us draw, is this: That, since those antient philosophers rose to a greater pitch of wisdom and virtue than was ever known among Christians, and all this purely upon the strength of their own reason and liberty of thinking; therefore it must follow, that either all Revelation is false, or, what is worse, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worse than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wisdom is not very antient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times: Our Saviour had but a low esteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*; who followed the doctrines of *Plato* and *Epicurus*. *St. Paul* likewise, who was well versed in all the *Grecian* literature, seems very much to despise their philosophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the *Colossians* to beware lest any man spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit. And, in another place, he advises *Timothy* to avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called; that is, not to introduce into the Christian doctrine the janglings of those vain philosophers, which they would pass upon the world for science. And the reasons he gives are, *First*, That those who professed them did err concerning the faith: *Secondly*, Because the knowledge of them

them did increase ungodliness, vain babblings being otherways expounded vanities, or empty sounds; that is, tedious disputes about words, which the philosophers were always so full of, and which were the natural product of disputes and dissensions between several sects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the *Heathen* philosophy, as it is manifest from several passages in their writings: So that this vein of affecting to raise the reputation of those sages so high, is a mode and a vice but of yesterday, assumed chiefly, as I have said, to disparage revealed knowledge, and the consequences of it among us.

Now, because this is a prejudice which may prevail with some persons, so far as to lessen the influence of the gospel, and whereas therefore this is an opinion which men of education are like to be encountered with, when they have produced themselves into the world; I shall endeavour to shew that their preference of *Heathen* wisdom and virtue, before that of the Christian, is every way unjust, and grounded upon ignorance or mistake: In order to which I shall consider four things.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general, fell short, and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I shall shew, in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thirdly, I shall prove the perfection of Christian wisdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Lastly, I shall shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue among the *Heathen* wise men, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short, and was very imperfect.

My design is to persuade men, that Christian philosophy is in all things preferable to *Heathen* wisdom; from which, or its professors, I shall however have no

occasion to detract. They were as wise and as good as it was possible for them under such disadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more with such aids as we enjoy : But our lessons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall short.

The *first* point I shall mention was that universal defect which was in all their schemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happiness of mankind, nor had any of them a tolerable answer upon this difficulty, to satisfy a reasonable person. For, to say, as the most plausible of them did, that happiness consisted in virtue, was but vain babbling, and a mere sound of words, to amuse others and themselves ; because they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did consist ; and likewise, because several among the best of them taught quite different things, placing happiness in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I shall have occasion to shew, when I speak of their particular tenets.

The *second* great defect in the *Gentile* philosophy was, that it wanted some suitable reward proportioned to the better part of man, his mind, as an encouragement for his progress in virtue. The difficulties they met with upon the score of this default were great, and not to be accounted for : Bodily goods, being only suitable to bodily wants, are no rest at all for the mind ; and, if they were, yet are they not the proper fruits of wisdom and virtue, being equally attainable by the ignorant and wicked. Now, human nature is so constituted, that we can never pursue any thing heartily but upon hopes of a reward. If we run a race, it is in expectation of a prize ; and the greater the prize the faster we run ; for an incorruptible crown, if we understand it and believe it to be such, more than a corruptible one. But some of the philosophers gave all this quite another turn, and pretended to refine so far, as to call virtue its own reward, and worthy to be followed only for itself : Whereas, if there be any thing in this more than the sound of the words, it is at least too abstracted to become an universal influencing principle in the world, and therefore could not be of general use.

It

It was the want of assigning some happiness, proportioned to the soul of man, that caused many of them, either, on the one hand, to be sour and morose, supercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar pursuits of common men, to hunt after greatness and riches, to make their court, and to serve occasions; as *Plato* did to the younger *Dionysius*, and *Aristotle* to *Alexander the Great*. So impossible is it for a man, who looks no further than the present world, to fix himself long in a contemplation where the present world has no part: He has no sure hold, no firm footing; he can never expect to remove the earth he rests upon, while he has no support beside for his feet, but wants, like *Archimedes*, some other place whereon to stand. To talk of bearing pain and grief, without any sort of present or future hope, cannot be purely greatness of spirit; there must be a mixture in it of affectation, and an alloy of pride, or perhaps is wholly counterfeit.

It is true there has been all along in the world a notion of rewards and punishments in another life; but it seems to have rather served as an entertainment to poets, or as a terror of children, than a settled principle, by which men pretended to govern any of their actions. The last celebrated words of *Socrates*, a little before his death, do not seem to reckon or build much upon any such opinion; and *Cæsar* made no scruple to disown it, and ridicule it in open senate.

Thirdly, The greatest and wisest of all their philosophers were never able to give any satisfaction, to others and themselves, in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely gross and absurd in their conceptions; and those who made the fairest conjectures are such as were generally allowed by the learned to have seen the system of *Moses*, if I may so call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the *Heathen* world, as we find by *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Longinus*, and other authors; for the rest, the wisest among them laid aside all notions after a Deity, as a disquisition vain and fruitless, which indeed it was upon unrevealed principles; and those who ventured to engage too far fell into incoherence and confusion.

Fourthly, Those among them who had the justest conceptions of a Divine Power, and did also admit a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either; they trusted in themselves for all things: But, as for a trust or dependence upon God, they would not have understood the phrase; it made no part of the profane style.

Therefore it was, that, in all issues and events, which they could not reconcile to their own sentiments of reason and justice, they were quite disconcerted: They had no retreat; but, upon every blow of adverse fortune, either affected to be indifferent, or grew sullen and severe, or else yielded and sunk like other men.

Having now produced certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy fell short, and was very imperfect; I go on, in the second place, to shew in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thales, the founder of the *Ionic* sect, so celebrated for morality, being asked, How a man might bear ill-fortune with greatest ease? answered, "By seeing his enemies in a worse condition." An answer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included such consequences as must destroy all society from the world.

Solon, lamenting the death of a son, one told him, "You lament in vain:" "Therefore (said he) I lament, because it is in vain." This was a plain confession how imperfect all his philosophy was, and that something was still wanting. He owned that all his wisdom and morals were useless, and this upon one of the most frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to support himself even from *David*, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath instructed his disciples? *Plato* himself, with all his refinements, placed happiness in wisdom, health, good fortune, honour, and riches; and held that they who enjoyed all these were perfectly happy: Which opinion was indeed unworthy it's owner, leaving the wife and the

the good man wholly at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miserable without resource.

His scholar, *Aristotle*, fell more grossly into the same notion; and plainly affirmed, That virtue, without the goods of fortune, was not sufficient for happiness, but that a wise man must be miserable in poverty and sickness. Nay, *Diogenes* himself, from whose pride and singularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, That a poor old man was the most miserable thing in life.

Zeno also and his followers fell into many absurdities, among which nothing could be greater than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal, which, instead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Lastly, *Epicurus* had no notion of justice but as it was profitable; and his placing happiness in pleasure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception: For, although he taught that pleasure did consist in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or ascertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done; by which means he misled his followers into the greatest vices, making their names to become odious and scandalous, even in the *Heathen* world.

I have produced these few instances from a great many others, to shew the imperfection of *Heathen* philosophy, wherein I have confined myself wholly to their morality. And surely we may pronounce upon it in the words of *St. James*, that *This wisdom descended not from above, but was earthly and sensual*. What if I had produced their absurd notions about God and the soul? It would then have compleated the character given it by that *Apostle*, and appeared to have been devilish too. But it is easy to observe, from the nature of these few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a support by revelation from God.

I proceed therefore, in the *third* place, to shew the perfection of Christian wisdom from above, and I shall endeavour to make it appear from those proper characters and marks of it by the *Apostle* before mentioned,

in

in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verses.

The words run thus :

This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish.

For where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work.

But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.

The wisdom from above is first pure. This purity of the mind and spirit is peculiar to the gospel. Our Saviour says, *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.* A mind free from all pollution of lusts shall have a daily vision of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it which keeps us unspotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holiness, and righteousness, far beyond the examples of the most celebrated philosophers.

It is peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated. The Christian doctrine teacheth us all those dispositions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any morose leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the composition of most *Heathen* schemes : So we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's last legacy was Peace ; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto seventy times seven.

Christian wisdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all moral virtues, of which the *Heathens* fall infinitely short. *Plato* indeed (and it is worth observing) has somewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the highest strain ever reached by man, without divine assistance ; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us ? *To love them that hate us ; to bless them that curse us ; and do good to them that despitefully use us.*

Christian wisdom is *without partiality* ; it is not calculated for this or that nation or people, but the whole race of mankind : Not to the philosophical schemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or sects ; but, in every nation,

tion, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

Lastly, It is *without hypocrisy*: It appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the gospel we are so far from being allowed to publish to the world those virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide, even from ourselves, those we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand does; unlike several branches of the *Heathen* wisdom, which pretended to teach insensibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the same time, in other parts it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the *last* place, to shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue, among the *Grecian* sages, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues most celebrated by antient moralists were fortitude and temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their schemes were generally addressed and confined; and the two instances, wherein those virtues arrived at the greatest height, were *Socrates* and *Cato*. But neither those, nor any other virtues possessed by these two, were at all owing to any lessons or doctrines of a sect. For *Socrates* himself was of none at all; and although *Cato* was called a Stoic, it was more from a resemblance of manners in his worst qualities, than that he avowed himself one of their disciples. The same may be affirmed of many other great men of antiquity. From whence I infer, that those who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural dispositions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any sect they pretended to follow.

On the other side, as the examples of fortitude and patience, among the primitive Christians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, so they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were such as the same persons, without those aids would never have arrived to. Of this truth most of the Apostles, with many thousand martyrs, are a cloud of witnesses

witnesses beyond exception. Having therefore spoken so largely upon the former heads, I shall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it should here be objected, Why does not Christianity still produce the same effects? It is easy to answer, *First*, That although the number of pretended Christians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never so small; and it is a true lively faith alone, that, by the assistance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly, We may answer, that Christianity itself has very much suffered by being blended up with *Gentile* philosophy. The *Platonic* system, first taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for some early heresies in the church. When disputes began to arise, the *Peripatetic* forms were introduced by *Scotus*, as best fitted for controversy. And, however this may now have become necessary, it was surely the author of a litigious vein, which has since occasioned very pernicious consequences, stopt the progress of Christianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that sentence given by *St. James*, and mentioned before, *Where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work.* This was the fatal stop to the *Grecians*, in their progress both of arts and arms: Their wise men were divided under several sects, and their governments under several commonwealths, all in opposition to each other, which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themselves, while they should have been armed against the common enemy. And I wish we had no other examples from the like causes, less foreign or antient than that. *Diogenes* said, *Socrates* was a madman; the disciples of *Zeno* and *Epicurus*, nay of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, were engaged in fierce disputes about the most insignificant trifles. And, if this be the present language and practice among us Christians, no wonder that Christianity does not still produce the same effects which it did at first, when it was received and embraced in its utmost purity and perfection. For such a wisdom as this cannot descend from above, but must be earthly, sensual, devilish; full of confusion and every evil work: Whereas
the

the wisdom from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. This is the true heavenly wisdom, which Christianity only can boast of, and which the greatest of the *Heathen* wise men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, &c. &c.

T H E P O O R .

THE Lord Archbishop of Daxia, that his Grace would direct the clergy, and the church-wardens of the said city, to appoint badges of brass, copper, or pewter, in between by the poor of the several parishes. The badges to be marked with the initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. and to be well sewed and fastened on the right and left shoulder of the outward garment of each of the said poor, by which they might be distinguished. And that none of the said poor should go out of their own parish to beg alms; the badges were to take care.

U P O N

His Grace, the Lord Archbishop, did accordingly give directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverseness, or pride of the said poor, several of them openly protesting they will never consent to wear the said badges; and of those who received them, almost every one keeps them in their pockets, or hangs them on a string about their necks, or fastens them only with a pin, or wears them under their coats, not so as to be seen. By which means the whole design is frustrated, in that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without seeing one beggar regularly badged, and in such great numbers, that they are a mighty nuisance to the public, most of them being foreigners.

H O M A S A
UPON GIVING
B A D G E S
T O
T H E P O O R*.

THE continual concourse of beggars, from all parts of the kingdom to this city, having made it impossible for the several parishes to maintain their own poor, according to the antient laws of the land; several Lord Mayors did apply themselves to the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, that his Grace would direct his clergy, and the church-wardens of the said city, to appoint badges of brass, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the several parishes. The badges to be marked with the initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. and to be well sewed and fastened on the right and left shoulder of the outward garment of each of the said poor, by which they might be distinguished. And that none of the said poor should go out of their own parish to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

His Grace, the Lord Archbishop, did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverseness, or pride of the said poor, several of them openly protesting they will never submit to wear the said badges; and of those who received them, almost every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them on a string about their necks, or fasten them only with a pin, or wear them under their coats, not to be seen. By which means the whole design is eluded, so that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without seeing one beggar regularly badged, and in such great numbers, that they are a mighty nuisance to the public, most of them being foreigners.

It

* See a Treatise on the subject, Vol. III. p. 335.

It is therefore proposed, That his Grace the Lord Archbishop would please to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put this affair of badges effectually in practice, by such methods as his Grace and they shall agree upon. And I think it would be highly necessary, that some paper should be pasted up, in several proper parts of the city, signifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to those poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are within the precincts of their own parishes. And, if something like this were delivered by the ministers, in the reading-desk, two or three Lords-days successively, it would still be of further use to put this matter upon a right foot. And that all who offend against this regulation be treated as vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

Deanry-house,
Sept. 26. 1726.

VOL. X.

P

CONSI.

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amused, for at least thirty years past, with numberless schemes in writing and discourse, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor, and setting them to work, especially in this city; most of which were idle, indigested, or visionary, and all of them ineffectual, as it hath plainly appeared by the consequences. Many of those projectors were so stupid, that they drew a parallel from *Holland* and *England*, to be settled in *Ireland*; that is to say, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the most beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of false and foolish reasoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, seems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much conversed with those folks who call themselves Merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong-thinking race of people in the very first rudiments of trade; which, however, was not so much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy constitution of this kingdom, where pedlars are better qualified to thrive than the wisest merchants. I could fill a volume with only setting down a list of the public absurdities, by which this kingdom hath suffered within the compass of my own memory, such as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not established as a law. I cannot forbear instancing a few of these, because it may be of some use to those who shall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The

The first was the building of the barracks, whereof I have seen above one half, and have heard enough of the rest, to affirm that the public hath been cheated of at least two thirds of the money raised for that use by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raised for the *Palatines*; when, instead of employing that great sum in purchasing lands in some remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting those people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is the insurance-office against fire, by which several thousand pounds are yearly remitted to *England* (a trifle it seems we can easily spare), and will gradually increase until it comes to a good national tax. For the society-marks upon our houses (under which might properly be written, *The Lord have mercy upon us*) spread faster and farther than the * colony of frogs. I have, for above twenty years past, given warning several thousand times, to many substantial people, and to such who are acquainted with Lords and Squires, and the like great folks, (to any of whom I have not the honour to be known :) I mentioned my daily fears, lest our watchful friends in *England* might take this business out of our hands; and how easy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a society of persons who had good estates, such, for instance, as that noble knot of bankers under the style of *Swift and Company*. But now we are become tributary to *England*, not only for materials to light our own fires; but for

P 2

engines

* This similitude which is certainly the finest that could possibly have been used upon this occasion, seems to require a short explication. About the beginning of this current century, Doctor *Gwythers*, a physician and Fellow of the University of *Dublin*, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from *England* to *Ireland*, in order to propagate the species in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the University-park; but they all perished. Whereupon he sent to *England* for some bottles of the frog-spawn, which he threw into those ditches, by which means the species of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was so small in the year 1720, that a frog was no where to be seen in *Ireland*, except in the neighbourhood of the University-park: But, within six or seven years after, they spread thirty, forty, and fifty miles over the country; and so at last, by degrees, over the whole nation.

engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added, (repealed in *England* as a grievance) we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of those merchants, or linen-manufacturers, or both; when, upon occasion of the plague at *Marseilles*, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade with *Spain*; but the commodity was so bad, and held at so high a rate, that almost the whole cargo was returned, and the small remainder sold below the prime cost.

So many other particulars of the same nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to stop, and the rather because they are not very proper for my subject, to which I shall now return.

Among all the schemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and setting them to work, the least weight hath been laid upon that single point which is of greatest importance; I mean that of keeping foreign beggars from swarming hither out of every part of the country; for, until this be brought to pass effectually, all our wise reasonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to so small a number of people, is owing to many reasons: To the laziness of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miserable cabins and potatoe-plots; their early marriages, without the least prospect of establishment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby such vast numbers are hindered from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchase it; the mortal damp upon all kinds of trade, and many other circumstances too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the same causes we owe the perpetual concurrence of foreign beggars to this town, the country landlords giving all assistance, except money and victuals, to drive from their estates those miserable creatures they have undone.

It was a general complaint against the poor-house, under its former governors, that the number of poor in this city did not lessen by taking three hundred into
the

the house, and all of them recommended under the minister and church-warden's hands of the several parishes; and this complaint must still continue, although the poor-house should be enlarged to maintain three thousand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-house, as it is now established, amount to about two thousand pounds a-year; whereof, two hundred allowed for officers, and one hundred for repairs, the remaining seventeen hundred, at four pounds a head, will support four hundred and twenty-five persons. This is a favourable allowance, considering that I subtract nothing for the diet of those officers, and for wear and tare of furniture; and, if every one of these collegiates should be set to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one fourth part of their maintenance.

At the same time the oratorical part of these gentlemen seldom vouchsafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred, or two thousand people, to be maintained in this hospital, without troubling their heads about the fund,

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T O

TO HIS GRACE

W I L L I A M,

LORD ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, &c.

The humble Representation of the CLERGY of the
City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD,

Jan. 1724.

YOUR Grace having been pleased to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters-patent, for the relief of one *Charles M^cCarthy*, whose house in *College-green, Dublin*, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having desired us to consider of the said brief, and give our opinions thereof to your Grace;

We the clergy of the city of *Dublin*, in compliance with your Grace's desire, and with great acknowledgements for your paternal tenderness towards us, having maturely considered the said brief by letters-patent, compared the several parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubric, (which is confirmed by act of parliament) and consulted persons skilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourselves and of the rest of our brethren, the clergy of the diocese of *Dublin*, most humbly represent to your Grace:

First, That, by this brief, your Grace is required and commanded, to recommend and command all the parsons, vicars, &c. to advance so great an act of charity.

We shall not presume to determine how far your Grace may be commanded by the said brief; but we humbly conceive that the clergy of your diocese cannot, by any law now in being, be commanded by your Grace to advance the said act of charity, any other ways than by reading the said brief in our several churches, as prescribed by the rubric.

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas it is said in the said brief, that the parson, vicars, &c. upon the first Lord's-day, or opportunity after the receipt of the copy of the said brief, shall, deliberately and affectionately, publish and declare the tenor thereof to his Majesty's subjects, and earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir them up to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of the said sufferer :

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the Lord's-day, or some solemn days legally appointed ; neither is it possible for the strongest constitution among us to obey this command (which includes no less than a whole sermon) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church ; and to perform this work in every house where the parishes are very populous, consisting sometimes here in town of 900 or 1000 houses, would take up the space of a year, although we should preach in two families every day ; and almost as much time in the country, where the parishes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us, and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that these exhortations are commanded to be made in the church, upon the Lord's-day, we are humbly of opinion, that it is left to the discretion of the clergy, to chuse what subjects they think most proper to preach on, and at what times ; and, if they preach either false doctrine or seditious principles, they are liable to punished.

It may possibly happen that the sufferer recommended may be a person not deserving the favour intended by the brief ; in which case no minister, who knows the sufferer to be an undeserving person, can with a safe conscience deliberately and affectionately publish the brief, much less earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir up the people to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of such a sufferer *.

Thirdly,

† This *McCarthy's* house was burnt in the month of *August* 1723, and the universal opinion of mankind was, that *McCarthy* himself was the person who had set fire to the house,

Tbirdly, Whereas in the said brief the ministers and curates are required, on the week-days next after the Lord's-day when the brief was read, to go from house to house, with their church-wardens, to ask and receive from all persons the said charity: We cannot but observe here, that the said ministers are directly made collectors of the said charity in conjunction with the church wardens; which however, we presume, was not intended, as being against all law and precedent: And therefore, we apprehend, there may be some inconsistency which leaves us at a loss how to proceed. For, in the next paragraph, the ministers and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the church-wardens, or procure some other of the chief inhabitants, to do the same. And, in a following paragraph, the whole work seems left entirely to the church-wardens, who are required to use their utmost diligence to gather and collect the said charity, and to pay the same, in ten days after, to the parson, vicar, &c.

In answer to this, we do represent to your Grace our humble opinion, that neither we nor our church-wardens can be legally commanded or required to go from house to house to receive the said charity; because your Grace hath informed us in your order, at your visitation *An. Dom. 1712*, that neither we nor our church-wardens are bound to make any collections for the poor, save in the church; which also appears plainly by the rubric, that appoints both time and place, as your Grace hath observed in your said order.

We do likewise assure your Grace, that it is not in our power to procure some of the chief inhabitants of our parishes to accompany the church-wardens from house to house in these collections: And we have reason to believe, that such a proposal, made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers of the land) would be received in a manner very little to our own satisfaction, or to the advantage of the said collections.

Fourthly, The brief doth will, require, and command the bishops, and alldother dignitaries of the church, that they make their contributions distinctly, to be returned

turned in the several provinces to the several archbishops of the same.

Upon which we take leave to observe, that the terms of expression here are of the strongest kind, and in a point that may subject the said dignitaries (for we shall say nothing of the bishops) to great inconveniencies.

The said dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded to make their contributions distinctly; by which it should seem that they are absolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *distinctly* is but a circumstance), and may be understood not very agreeable to a voluntary, chearful contribution. And therefore, if any bishop or dignitary should refuse to make his contribution, (perhaps for very good reasons) he may be thought to incur the crime of disobedience to his Majesty, which all good subjects abhor, when such a command is according to law.

Most dignities of this kingdom consist only of parochial tythes, and the dignitaries are ministers of parishes. A doubt may therefore arise, whether the said dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions in both capacities, distinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parsons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the poorest kind of benefices; and it should seem hard to put poor dignitaries under the necessity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of exposing themselves to the censure of wanting charity, by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to *let not our left hand know what our right hand doeth*; which cannot well consist with our being willed, required, and commanded by any earthly power, where no law is prescribed, to publish our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is said in the said brief, that the parson, vicar, &c. of every parish, shall, in six days after the receipt of the said charity, return it to his respective chancellor, &c. This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expence to the said parson, in remote and desolate parts of the country, where often an honest messenger (if such a one can be got) must be hired to

to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming ; which will probably cost more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs should happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We observe in the said brief, that the provost and fellows of the university, judges, officers of the courts, and professors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded to make their contributions ; but that so good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive, that all his Majesty's subjects are equally obliged, with or without his Majesty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power ; and that the clergy, in their ecclesiastical capacity, are only liable to such commands as the rubric, or any other law shall enjoin, being born to the same privileges of freedom with the rest of his Majesty's subjects.

We cannot but observe to your Grace, that, in the *English* act of the fourth year of Queen *Anne*, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters-patent, &c. the ministers are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations ; neither are they commanded to go from house to house with the church-wardens, nor to send the money collected to their respective chancellors, but pay it to the undertaker or agent of the sufferer. So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom shall not, without any law in being, be put to greater hardships in this case than their brethren in *England*, where the legislature, intending to prevent the abuses in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of those difficulties we now complain of, in the present brief by letters-patent, for the relief of *Charles M'Carthy* aforesaid.

The collections upon the Lord's-day are the principal support of our own numerous poor in our several parishes ; and therefore every single brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole kingdom, must deprive several thousands of poor of their weekly maintenance, for the sake only of one person, who often becomes a sufferer by his own folly or negligence, and

is sure to overvalue his losses double or treble : So that, if this precedent be followed, as it certainly will if the present brief should succeed, we may probably have a new brief every week ; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two persons, whereof not one in ten is deserving, and for the interest of a dozen dextrous clerks and secretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to starve.

We are credibly informed, that neither the officers of the Lord Primate, in preparing the report of his Grace's opinion, nor those of the great seal, in passing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a considerable sum : And thus the good intentions of well-disposed people are in a great measure disappointed, a large part of their charity being anticipated, and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Lastly, We cannot but represent to your Grace our great concern and grief, to see the pains and labour of our church-wardens so much increased, by the injunctions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great disadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loss of time, to which great additions have been already made, by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poor-house, which they bear with great unwillingness ; and, if they shall find themselves further laden with such briefs as this of *McCarthy*, it will prove so great a discouragement, that we shall never be able to provide honest and sufficient persons for that weighty office of church-warden, so necessary to the laity as well the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulation of parishes.

Upon all these considerations, we humbly hope that your Grace, of whose fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderness, we have had so many and great instances, will represent our case to his Most Excellent Majesty, or to the Chief Governor in this kingdom, in such a manner, that we may be neither under the necessity of declining his Majesty's commands in his letters-patent, or of taking new and grievous burdens upon ourselves and our church-wardens, to which neither the rubric nor any other law in force oblige us to submit.

A N
A N S W E R
T O
B I C K E R S T A F F.

*Some Reflections upon Mr Bickerstaff's Predictions for the
Year M,DCC,VIII *.*

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

I Have not observed, for some years past, any insignificant paper to have made more noise, or be more greedily bought, than that of these predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amusement for the better sort, and a jest only to the wise; yet, among these last, I have heard some very much in doubt, whether the author meant to deceive others, or is deceived himself. Whoever he was, he seems to have with great art adjusted his paper both to please the rabble and to entertain persons of condition. The writer is, without question, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece seems hastily written in a sudden frolic, with the scornful thought of the pleasure he will have, in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: Nor do I doubt but he and his friends in the secret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thousand fools they have already made. And he has them fast for some time: For so they are like to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great question whether the miscarriage of the two or three first will so entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them

* See Vol. IV. p. 305.

them from expecting the accomplishing of the rest. I doubt not but some thousands of these papers are carefully preserved by as many persons, to confront with the events, and try whether the astrologer exactly keeps the day and the hour. And these I take to be Mr *Bickerstaff's* choicest cullies, for whose sake chiefly he writ his amusement. Mean while he has seven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in suspense; for it is so long before the almanack-maker is to die, which is the first prediction: And, if that fellow happens to be a splenetic visionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the prophesy may punctually come to pass by very natural means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill-used by a mercer in town, writ him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a slow poison into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which the man began in earnest to languish and decay, by the mere strength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him before the jest went too far. The like effect upon *Partridge* would wonderfully raise Mr *Bickerstaff's* reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from *France* whether the Cardinal *de Noailles* were dead or alive upon the fourth of *April*, which is the second of his predictions.

For a piece so carelessly written, the observations upon astrology are reasonable and pertinent, the remarks just; and, as the paper is partly designed, in my opinion, for a satire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, so it is no more than what we all of us deserve. And, since we must be teased with perpetual hawkers of *strange and wonderful* things, I am glad to see a man of sense find leisure and humour to take up the trade for his own and our diversion. To speak in the town-phrase it is a *bite*; he has fully had his jest, and may be satisfied.

I very much approve the serious air he gives himself in his introduction and conclusion, which has gone far to give some people of no mean rank an opinion

that the author believes himself. He tells us, "He places the whole credit of his art on the truth of these predictions, and will be content to be hooted by *Partridge* and the rest for a cheat, if he fails in any one particular;" with several other strains of the same kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is very indifferent whether *Isaac Bickerstaff* be a *mark of infamy* or not. But it seems, although he has joined an odd surname to no very common Christian one, that in this large town there is a man found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no small mortification to this gentleman astrologer, as well as his bookseller, to find their piece, which they sent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately seized on by three or four interloping printers of *Grubstreet*, the title stuffed with an abstract of the whole matter, together with the standard epithets of *strange and wonderful*, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior class, with the concluding cadence of *A halfpenny a-piece*. But *sic cecidit Phaeton*: And, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the same fate: To-morrow will my ears be grated by the *little boys and wenches in straw-bats*, and I must an hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to sale at an under-value. Then, which is a great deal worse, my acquaintance in the coffee-house will ask me whether I have seen the Answer to 'Squire *Bickerstaff*'s predictions, and whether I know the puppy that writ it: And how to keep a man's countenance in such a juncture is no easy point of conduct. When, in this case, you see a man shy either in praising or condemning, ready to turn off the discourse to another subject, standing as little in the light as he can to hide his blushing, pretending to sneeze or take snuff, or go off as if sudden business called him; then ply him close, observe his looks narrowly, see whether his speech be constrained or affected, then charge him suddenly, or whisper and smile, and you will soon discover whether he be guilty. Although this seem not to the purpose I am discoursing on, yet I think

think it to be so; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of *Bickerstaff's* Predictions, and did not meet with him some days ago in a coffee-house at *Covent-Garden*.

As to the matter of the Predictions themselves, I shall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr *Partridge* to take them into his consideration, and lay as many errors in astrology as possible to Mr *Bickerstaff's* account. He may justly, I think, challenge the 'Squire to publish the calculation he has made of *Partridge's* nativity, by the credit of which he so determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr *Bickerstaff* can do no less, in honour, than give Mr *Partridge* the same advantage of calculating *his*, by sending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars necessary for such a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the dispute, and take part on each side according as they are inclined.

I should likewise advise Mr *Partridge* to inquire, why Mr *Bickerstaff* does not so much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled until two months after the time of publishing his paper? This looks a little suspicious, as if he were desirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could, else it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of *March*; which is not so fair dealing as we have, even from Mr *Partridge* and his brethren, who give us their predictions (such as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one passage in Mr *Bickerstaff's* paper that seems to be as high a strain of assurance as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of *June* which relates to the *French* Prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They will utterly disperse, by
" seeing the time come wherein their prophecies should
" be fulfilled, and then finding themselves deceived by
" contrary events." Upon which he adds, with great reason, "his wonder how any deceiver can be so
" weak, to foretel things near at hand, when a very
Q 2 " few.

"few months must discover the imposture to all the world." This is spoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedness, as if he would have us think himself to be not under the least apprehension, that the same in two months will be his own case. With respect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of so refined and pleasant a piece of impudence, which I hope the author will not resent as an uncivil word, because I am sure I enter into his taste, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deserves a reprimand for writing with so much scorn and contempt for the understandings of the majority.

For the month of *July*, he tells us of "a general, who, by a glorious action, will recover the reputation he lost by former misfortunes." This is commonly understood to be Lord *Galloway*; who, if he be already dead, as some newspapers have it, Mr *Bickerstaff* has made a trip. But this I do not much insist on; for it is hard if *another general* cannot be found under the *same circumstances*, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The *French King's* death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at *Marli*, where he never goes at that season of the year, as I observed myself during three years I passed in that kingdom: And, discoursing some months ago with Monsieur *Tallard*, about the *French* court, I find that King never goes to *Marli* for any time, but about the season of hunting there, which is not till *August*. So that here was an unlucky slip of Mr *Bickerstaff*, for want of foreign education.

He concludes with resuming his promise, of publishing entire predictions for the next year; of which the other astrologers need not be in very much pain. I suppose we shall have them much about the same time with *The General History of Ears*. I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and, though I am no astrologer, may venture to prophesy that *Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq;* is now dead, and died just at the time his Predictions were ready for the press: That he dropt out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about
four

four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps descend a second time, when he has some new, agreeable, or amusing whimfy to pass upon the town; wherein, it is very probable, he will succeed as often as he is disposed to try the experiment, that is, as long as he can preserve a thorough contempt for his own time and other people's understandings, and is resolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expence of a million of people.

Q3

HINTS

H I N T S

O N

GOOD MANNERS.

GOOD MANNERS is the art of making every reasonable person in the company easy, and to be easy ourselves.

What passeth for good-manners in the world, generally produceth quite contrary effects.

Many persons of both sexes, whom I have known, and who passed for well-bred in their own and the world's opinion, are the most troublesome in company to others and themselves.

Nothing is so great an instance of ill-manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you please none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the rest.

Flattery is the worst, and falsest way of shewing our esteem.

Where company meets, I am confident the few reasonable persons are every minute tempted to curse the man or woman among them, who endeavours to be most distinguished for their good-manners.

A man of sense would rather fast till night, than dine at some tables, where the lady of the house is possessed with good-manners; uneasiness, pressing to eat, teasing with civility; less practised in *England* than here.

Courts are the worst of all schools to teach good-manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dress, are no part of good-manners. And therefore every man of good understanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occasion.

To speak in such a manner as may possibly offend any reasonable person in company, is the highest instance of ill-manners.

Good-manners chiefly consist in action, not in words. Modesty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have

I have known the court of *England* under four reigns, the two last but for a short time; and, whatever good-manners or politeness I observed in any of them, was not of the court-growth, but imported. For a courtier by trade, as gentlemen-ushers, bedchamber-women, maids of honour, * * * * *

Of good manners as to conversation.

Men of wit and good understanding, as well as breeding, are sometimes deceived, and give offence by conceiving a better opinion of those with whom they converse than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the most innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praise, to be mistaken for abuse and reflection.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to suffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradictors, long talkers, who are absent in company, interrupters, not listeners, loud laughers.

Of those men and women whose face is ever in a smile, talk ever with a smile, condole with a smile, &c.

Argument, as usually managed, is the worst sort of conversation; as it is generally in books the worst sort of reading.

Good conversation is not to be expected in much company, because few listen, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are discovered let the company be ever so large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of conversation. It is done to support a character: It generally fails: It is a sort of insult on the company, and a constraint upon the speaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or business, or faculty, is a great breach of good-manners. Divines, physicians, lawyers, soldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakness. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom * * * * *

RESOLU-

RESOLUTIONS

WHEN

I COME TO BE OLD.

Written in the Year M, D C, X C I X.

NOT to marry a young woman.
Not to keep young company, unless they really desire it.

Not to be peevish, or morose, or suspicious.

Not to scorn present ways, or wits, or fashions, or men, or war, &c.

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the same story over and over to the same people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency, or cleanliness, for fear of falling into nastiness.

Not to be over severe with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weaknesses.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to knavish tattling servants, or others.

Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but those who desire it.

To desire some good friends to inform me which of these resolutions I break or neglect, and wherein ; and reform accordingly.

Not to talk much, nor of myself.

Not to boast of my former beauty, or strength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be believed by a young woman ; *et eos qui hæreditatem captant, odisse ac vitare.*

Not to be positive or opiniative.

Not to set up for observing all these rules, for fear I should observe none.

L A W S

L A W S FOR THE DEAN'S SERVANTS.

DECEMBER 7th, M,DCC,XXXIII.

IF either of the two men-servants be drunk, he shall pay an *English* crown out of his wages for the said offence, by giving the Dean a receipt for so much wages received.

When the Dean is at home, no servant shall presume to be absent, without giving notice to the Dean, and asking leave, upon the forfeiture of sixpence for every half-hour that he is absent, to be stopt out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean is abroad, no servant, except the woman, shall presume to leave the house for above one half-hour; after which, for every half-hour's absence he shall forfeit sixpence: And, if the other servant goes out before the first returns, he shall pay five shillings out of his wages, as above.

Whatever servant shall be taken in a manifest lie, shall forfeit one shilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean goes about the house, or out-houses, or garden, or to *Naboth's* Vineyard, whatever things he finds out of order, by neglect of any servant under whose care it was, that servant shall forfeit sixpence, and see to get it mended as soon as possible, or suffer more forfeitures at the Dean's discretion.

If two servants be abroad together when the Dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the Dean, the concealer shall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If,

If, in waiting at table, the two seryants be out of the room together, without orders, the last who went out shall forfeit threepence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the Dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the same penalty with the men: But provided the two men-servants keep the house until she returns; otherwise, either of the servants, who goes out before her return, shall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the Dean shall think fit to make, at any time to come, for the government of his servants, and forfeitures for neglect or disobedience, all the servants shall be bound to submit to.

Whatever other servant, except the woman, shall presume to be drunk, the other two servants shall inform the Dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, besides the forfeiture of a crown from the said servant who was drunk.

A Q U A

Q U A K E R ' s

LETTER from PHILADELPHIA,

T O

JONATHAN SWIFT IN DUBLIN.

Chilad, *March 29. 1729.*

Friend JONATHAN SWIFT,

HAVING been often agreeably amused by thy Tale, &c. &c. and being now loading a small ship for *Dublin*, I have sent thee a gammon, the product of the wilds of *America*; which perhaps may not be unacceptable at thy table, since it is only designed to let thee know that thy wit and parts are in esteem at this distance from the place of thy residence. They need ask no questions who this comes from, since I am a perfect stranger to thee.

CHARAC-

C H A R A C T E R

O F

M R S H * * * * D.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXVII.

I SHALL say nothing of her wit or beauty, which are allowed by all persons who can judge of either, when they hear or see her. Besides, beauty being transient, and a trifle, cannot justly make part of a character. And I leave others to celebrate her wit, because it will be of no use in that part of her character which I intend to draw. Neither shall I relate any part of her history; further than, that she went, in the prime of her youth, to the Court of *Hanover* with her husband, and became of the Bed-chamber to the present Princess of *Wales*, living in expectation of the Queen's * death: Upon which event she came over with her Mistress, and hath ever since continued in her service; where from the attendance daily paid her by the ministers, and all expectants, she is reckoned much the greatest favourite of the court at *Leicester-house*: A situation which she hath long affected to desire that it might not be believed.

There is no politician who more carefully watches the motions and dispositions of things and persons at *St James's*, nor can form his language with a more imperceptible dexterity to the present posture of a court, or more early foresee what style may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs, whereof she can gather early intelligence without asking it, and often when even those from whom she hath it are not sensible that they are giving it to her, but equally with others admire her sagacity. Sir *Robert Walpole* and she both think they understand each other, and are both equally mistaken.

With

* Queen Anne.

With persons where she is to manage, she is very dextrous in that point of skill which the *French* call *tâter le pavé* ; with others she is a great vindicator of all present proceedings, but in such a manner, as if she were under no concern further than her own conviction, and wondering how any body can think otherwise. And the danger is, that she may come in time to believe herself ; which, under a change of princes and a great addition of credit, might have bad consequences. She is a most unconscionable dealer ; for, in a return of a few good words, which she gives to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters before their faces, she gets ten thousand from them behind her back, which are of real service to her character. The credit she hath is managed with the utmost thrift ; and, whenever she employs it, which is very rarely, it is only upon such occasions where she is sure to get much more than she spends. For instance, she would readily press Sir Robert Walpole to do some favour for Colonel Churchill, or Doddington ; the Prince, for a mark of grace to Mr Schutz ; and the Princess, to be kind to Mrs Clayton. She sometimes falls into the general mistake of all courtiers, which is that of not suiting her talents to the abilities of others, but thinking those she deals with to have less art than they really possess ; so, that she may possibly be deceived when she thinks she deceiveth.

In all offices of life, except those of a courtier, she acts with justice, generosity, and truth. She is ready to do good as a private person, and I would almost think in charity that she will not do harm as a courtier, unless to please those in chief power.

In religion she is at least a Latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the Free-thinkers ; and herein she is the more blameable, because she hath too much morality to stand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to salvation. I speak this of her as a private Lady, not as a Court-favourite ; for, in the latter capacity, she can shew neither faith nor works.

If she had never seen a court, it is not impossible that she might have been a friend.

She abounds in good words and expressions of good wishes, and will concert a hundred schemes for the service of those whom she would be thought to favour: Schemes that sometimes arise from them, and sometimes from herself; although, at the same time, she very well knows them to be without the least probability of succeeding. But to do her justice, she never feeds or deceives any person with promises, where she doth not at the same time intend a degree of sincerity.

She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the best accomplishments, who have nothing to desire or expect.

What part she may act hereafter in a larger sphere, as Lady of the Bed-chamber to a great Q — n, (upon supposing the death of his present Majesty *, and of the Earl of *Suffolk*, to whose title her husband succeeds) and in high esteem with a K — g, neither she nor I can foretel. My own opinion is natural and obvious, that her talents as a courtier will spread, enlarge, and multiply to such a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, will be laid up clean (like clothes in a chest), to be used and put on, whenever satiety, or some reverse of fortune, or increase of ill health, (to which last she is subject) shall dispose her to retire. In the mean time, it will be her wisdom to take care that they may not be tarnished or moth-eaten, for want of airing and turning at least once a year.

* George the First.

C H A R A C .

CHARACTER OF DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXXVIII.

DOCTOR THOMAS SHERIDAN died at *Rathfarnham* the tenth of *October* 1738, at three of the clock in the afternoon: His diseases were a dropsy and asthma. He was doubtless the best instructor of youth in these kingdoms, or perhaps in *Europe*; and as great a master of the *Greek* and *Roman* languages. He had a very fruitful invention, and a talent for poetry. His *English* verses were full of wit and humour, but neither his prose nor verse sufficiently correct: However, he would readily submit to any friend who had a true taste in prose or verse. He hath left behind him a very great collection, in several volumes, of stories, humorous, witty, wise, or some way useful, gathered from a vast number of *Greek*, *Roman*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *French*, and *English* writers. I believe I may have seen about thirty, large enough to make as many moderate books in octavo. But, among those extracts, there were many not worth regard; for five in six, at least, were of little use or entertainment. He was (as it is frequently the case in men of wit and learning) what the *French* call a *Dupe*, and in a very high degree. The greatest dunce of a tradesman could impose upon him, for he was altogether ignorant in worldly management. His chief shining quality was that of a school-master; here he shone in his proper element. He had so much skill and practice in the physiognomy of boys, that he rarely mistook at the first view. His scholars loved and feared him. He often rather chose to shame the stupid, but punished the idle, and exposed them to

all the lads, which was more severe than lashing. Among the gentlemen in this kingdom who have any share of education, the scholars of Dr *Sheridan* infinitely excel, in number and knowledge, all their brethren sent from other schools.

To look on the Doctor in some other lights, he was in many things very indiscreet, to say no worse. He acted like too many clergymen, who are in haste to be married when very young; and from hence proceeded all the miseries of his life. The portion he got proved to be just the reverse of 500 *l.* for he was poorer by a thousand: So many incumbrances of a mother-in-law, and poor relations, whom he was forced to support for many years. Instead of breeding up his daughters to housewifery and plain cloaths, he got them, at a great expence, to be clad like ladies who had plentiful fortunes; made them only learn to sing and dance, to draw and design, to give them rich silks, and other fopperies; and his two eldest were married without his consent, to young lads who had nothing to settle on them. However, he had one son, whom the Doctor sent to *Westminster* school, although he could ill afford it. The boy was there immediately taken notice of, upon examination; although a mere stranger, he was by pure merit elected a King's scholar. It is true their maintainance falls something short: The Doctor was then so poor, that he could not add fourteen pounds to enable the boy to finish the year; which, if he had done, he would have been removed to a higher class, and, in another year, would have been sped off (that is the phrase) to a fellowship in *Oxford* or *Cambridge*: But the Doctor was forced to recal him to *Dublin*, and had friends in our university to send him there, where he hath been chosen of the foundation; and, I think, hath gotten an exhibition, and designs to stand for a fellowship.

The Doctor had a good church-living, in the south parts of *Ireland*, given him by Lord *Carteret*; who, being very learned himself, encourageth it in others. A friend of the Doctor's prevailed on his Excellency to grant it. The living was well worth 150 *l.* per annum.

annum. He changed it very soon for that of *Dunboyn*; which, by the knavery of the farmers and power of the gentlemen, fell so very low, that he could never get 80*l.* He then changed that living for the free-school of *Cavan*, where he might have lived well, in so cheap a country, on 80 *l.* salary *per annum*, besides his scholars: But the air, he said, was too moist and unwholesome, and he could not bear the company of some persons in that neighbourhood. Upon this he sold the school for about 400*l.* spent the money, grew into diseases, and died.

It would be very honourable, as well as just, in those many persons of quality and fortune, who had the advantage of being educated under Doctor *Sheridan*, if they would please to erect some decent monument over his body, in the church where it is deposited.

THE

REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF DOCTOR SHERIDAN, BY A PERSON WHO WAS HIS PUPIL.

THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND SOLOMON*.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXIX.

HE became acquainted with a person distinguished for poetical and other writings, and in an eminent station, who treated him with great kindness on all occasions, and he became familiar in this person's house †. In three months time, *Solomon*, without the least provocation, writ a long poem, describing that person's muse to be dead, and making a funeral solemnity with asses, owls, &c. and gave the copy among all his acquaintance.

Solomon became acquainted with a most deserving lady, an intimate friend of the above person †, who entertained him also as she would a brother; and, upon giving him a little good advice, in the most decent manner, with relation to his wife, he told her, She was like other women, as bad as she was, and that they were all alike: Although his wife be, in every regard except gallantry, (which no creature would attempt) the most disagreeable beast in *Europe*.

He lets his wife (whom he pretends to hate as she deserves) govern, insult, and ruin him, as she pleases. Her character is this: Her person is detestably disagreeable; a most filthy slut; lazy, and slothful, and luxurious, ill-natured, envious, suspicious; a scold, expensive on herself, covetous to others: She takes thieves and whores, for cheapness, to be her servants, and

turns

* Dr Sheridan.

† Dean Swift.

‡ Stella.

turns them off every week: Positive, insolent; an ignorant, prating, overweening fool; a lover of the dirtiest, meanest company: An abominable ratler, affecting to be jealous of her husband with ladies of the best rank and merit, and merely out of affectation for perfect vanity.

Solomon has no ill design upon any person but himself, and he is the greatest deceiver of himself on all occasions.

His thoughts are sudden, and the most unreasonable always comes uppermost; and he constantly resolves and acts upon his first thoughts, and then asks advice, but never once before.

The person above-mentioned, whom he lampooned in three months after their acquaintance, procured him a good preferment from the Lord Lieutenant: Upon going down to take possession, *Solomon* preached, at *Cork*, a sermon on King *George's* birth-day, on this text, *Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof*. *Solomon* having been famous for a high Tory, and suspected as a Jacobite, it was a most difficult thing to get any thing for him: But that person, being an old friend of Lord *Cartaret*, prevailed against all *Solomon's* enemies, and got him made likewise one of his Excellency's chaplains. But, upon this sermon, he was struck out of the list, and forbid the castle, until that same person brought him again to the Lieutenant, and made them friends.

A fancy sprung in *Solomon's* head, that a house near *Dublin* would be commodious for him and his boarders, to lodge in on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*: Immediately, without consulting with any creature, he takes a lease of a rotten-house at *Rathfarnham*, the worst air in *Ireland*, for 999 years, at twelve pounds a year; the land, which was only a strip of ground, not being worth twenty shillings a year. When the same person whom he lampooned heard the thing, he begged *Solomon* to get a clause of surrender, and at last prevailed to have it done after twenty-one years; because it was a madness to pay eleven pounds a year, for a thousand years, for a house that could not last twenty. But *Solomon* made an agreement with his land-

land-lady, that he should be at liberty to surrender his lease in seven years; and, if he did not do it at that time, should be obliged to keep it for 999 years. In the mean time, he expends about one hundred pounds on the house and garden-wall; and, in less than three years, contracts such a hatred to the house, that he lets it run to ruin: So that, when the seven years are expired, he must either take it for the remainder of the 999 years, or be sued for waste, and lose all the money he laid out: And now he pays twelve pounds a year for a place he never sees.

Solomon has an estate of about thirty-five pounds *per annum*, in the county of *Cavan*; upon which, instead of ever receiving one penny rent, he hath expended above thirty pounds *per annum*, in buildings and plantations, which are all gone to ruin.

Solomon is under-tenant to a Bishop's lease: He is bound by articles to his Lordship to renew and pay a fine, whenever the Bishop renews with his landlord, and to raise his rent as the landlord shall raise it to the Bishop. Seven years expire: *Solomon's* landlord demands a fine, which he readily pays; then asks for a lease: The landlord says, he may have it at any time. He never gets it. Another seven years elapse: *Solomon's* landlord demands another fine, and an additional rent: *Solomon* pays both; asks to have his lease renewed: The steward answers, he will speak to his master. Seventeen years are elapsed: The landlord sends *Solomon* word that his lease is forfeited, because he hath not renewed and paid his fines according to articles; and now they are at law upon this admirable case.

It is *Solomon's* great happiness, that, when he acts in the common concerns of life, against common sense and reason, he values himself thereupon, as if it were the mark of a great genius, above little regards or arts, and that his thoughts are too exalted to descend into the knowledge of vulgar management; and you cannot make him a greater compliment, than by telling instances to the company, before his face, how careless he was in any affair that related to his interest and fortune.

He

He is extremely proud and captious, apt to resent as an affront and indignity, what was never intended for either.

He is allured as easily by every new acquaintance, especially among women, as a child is by a new plaything, and is led at will by them to suspect and quarrel with his best friends, of whom he hath lost the greatest part, for want of that indulgency which they ought to allow for his failings.

He is a generous, honest, good-natured man; but his perpetual want of judgment and discretion, makes him act as if he were neither generous, honest, nor good-natured.

The person above mentioned, whom he lampooned, and to whom he owes his preferment, being in the country and out of order; *Solomon* had appointed to come for him with a chaise, and bring him to town. *Solomon* sent him word that he was to set out on *Monday*, and did accordingly, but to another part of the kingdom, thirty miles wide of the place appointed, in compliment to a lady who was going that way; there staid, with her and her family, a month, then sent the chaise, in the midst of winter, to bring the said person, where *Solomon* would meet him, declaring he could not venture himself for fear of the frost: And upon the said person's refusing to go in the chaise alone, or to trust to *Solomon's* appointment, and being in ill health; *Solomon* fell into a formal quarrel with that person, and foully misrepresented the whole affair to justify himself;

Solomon had published a humorous ballad, called *Balyspellin* *, whither he had gone to drink the waters, with a new favourite lady. The ballad was in the manner of Mr Gay's on *Molly Mogg*, pretending to contain all the rhymes of *Balyspellin*. His friend, the person so often mentioned, being at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, and merry over *Solomon's* ballad, they agreed to make another, in dispraise of *Balyspellin-wells*, which *Solomon* had celebrated, and with all new rhymes not made use of in *Solomon's* †. The thing was done, and all in a mere jest and innocent merriment. Yet

Solomon

* See Vol. X.

† Ibid.

Solomon was prevailed upon, by the Lady he went with, to resent this as an affront on her and himself; which he did accordingly, against all the rules of reason, taste, good-nature, judgment, gratitude, or common manners.

He will invite six or more people of condition to dine with him on a certain day, some of them living five or six miles from town. On the day appointed he will be absent, and know nothing of the matter, and they all go back disappointed: When he is told of this, he is pleased, because it shews him to be a genius and a man of learning.

Having lain many years under the obloquy of a high Tory and Jacobite, upon the present Queen's birthday he writes a song, to be performed before the Government and those who attended them, in praise of the Queen and the King, on the common topics of her beauty, wit, family, love of *England*, and all other virtues, wherein the King and the Royal Children were sharers. It was very hard to avoid the common topics, which were mentioned in abundance. A young collegian, who had done the same job the year before, got some reputation on the account of his wit: *Solomon* would needs vie with him, by which he lost all the esteem of his old friends the Tories, and got not the least interest with the Whigs; for they are now too strong to want advocates of that kind: And therefore one of the Lords Justices, reading the verses in some company, said, "Ah, Doctor, this shall not do." His name was at length in the title-page; and he did this without the knowledge or advice of one living soul, as he himself confesseth.

His full conviction of having acted wrong, in a hundred instances, leaves him as positive in the next instance as if he had never been mistaken in his life: And if you go to him the next day, and find him convinced in the last, he hath another instance ready, wherein he is as positive as he was the day before.

ON THE DEATH OF

Mrs JOHNSON, [STELLA.]

THIS day, being *Sunday, January 28th 1727-8*, about eight o'clock at night, a servant brought me a note, with an account of the death of the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend, that I or perhaps any other person ever was blessed with. She expired about six in the evening of this day; and, as soon as I am left alone, which is about eleven at night, I resolve, for my own satisfaction, to say something of her life and character.

She was born at *Richmond in Surrey*, on the thirteenth day of *March*, in the year 1681. Her father was a younger brother of a good family in *Nottinghamshire*, her mother of a lower degree; and indeed she had little to boast of her birth. I knew her from six years old, and had some share in her education, by directing what books she should read, and perpetually instructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which she never swerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was sickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen: But then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in *London*, only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. She lived generally in the country, with a family, where she contracted an intimate friendship with another lady* of more advanced years. I was then (to my mortification) settled in *Ireland*; and, about a year after, going to visit my friends in *England*, I found she was a little uneasy upon the death of a person on whom she had some dependence. Her fortune, at that time, was in all not above fifteen hundred pounds, the interest of which

* Mrs Dingley.

which was but a scanty maintenance, in so dear a country, for one of her spirit. Upon this consideration, and indeed very much for my own satisfaction, who had few friends or acquaintance in *Ireland*; I prevailed with her and her dear friend and companion, the other lady, to draw what money they had into *Ireland*, a great part of their fortune being in annuities upon funds. Money was then at ten *per cent.* in *Ireland*, besides the advantage of returning it, and all necessities of life at half the price. They complied with my advice, and soon after came over; but, I happening to continue some time longer in *England*, they were much discouraged to live in *Dublin*, where they were wholly strangers. She was at that time about nineteen years old, and her person was soon distinguished. But the adventure looked so like a frolic, the censure held, for some time, as if there were a secret history in such a removal; which, however, soon blew off by her excellent conduct. She came over with her friend on the 1st of May in the year 170—; and they both lived together until this day, when death removed her from us. For some years past, she had been visited with continual ill-health; and several times, within these last two years, her life was despaired of. But, for this twelve-months past, she never had a day's health; and, properly speaking, she hath been dying six months, but kept alive, almost against nature, by the generous kindness of two physicians, and the care of her friends. Thus far I writ the same night between eleven and twelve.

Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or more improved them by reading and conversation. Yet her memory was not of the best, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of persons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the best, and with the greatest freedom, mixt with the greatest decency. She had a gracefulness somewhat more than human in every motion, word, and action. Never was so happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, easiness and sincerity. There seemed to be a combination among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank:

Yet

Yet people of all sorts were never more easy than in her company. Mr *Addison*, when he was in *Ireland*, being introduced to her, immediately found her out; and, if he had not soon after left the kingdom, assured me he would have used all endeavours to cultivate her friendship. A rude or conceited coxcomb passed his time very ill, upon the least breach of respect; for, in such a case, she had no mercy, but was sure to expose him to the contempt of the standers-by; yet in such a manner as he was ashamed to complain, and durst not resent. All of us, who had the happiness of her friendship, agreed unanimously, that, in an afternoon or evening's conversation, she never failed before we parted of delivering the best thing that was said in the company. Some of us have written down several of her sayings, or what the *French* call *Bon Mots*, wherein she excelled almost beyond belief. She never mistook the understanding of others; nor ever said a severe word, but where a much severer was deserved.

Her servants loved and almost adored her at the same time. She would, upon occasions, treat them with freedom, yet her demeanour was so awful, that they durst not fail in the least point of respect. She chid them seldom, but it was with severity, which had an effect upon them for a long time after.

January 29th, My head aches, and I can write no more.

January 30th, *Tuesday*.

This is the night of the funeral, which my sickness will not suffer me to attend. It is now nine at night, and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not see the light in the church, which is just over against the window of my bed-chamber.

With all the softness of temper that became a lady, she had the personal courage of a hero. She and her friend having removed their lodgings to a new house, which stood solitary, a parcel of rogues, alarmed, attempted the house, where there was only one boy. She was then about four and twenty. And, having been warned to apprehend some such attempt, she learned the

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management

See Vol. VI. p. 115.

management of a pistol; and, the other women and servants being half-dead with fear, she stole softly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood, to prevent being seen, primed the pistol fresh, gently lifted up the sash; and, taking her aim with the utmost presence of mind, discharged the pistol laden with the bullets, into the body of one villain, who stood the fairest mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the rest, and died the next morning, but his companions could not be found. The Duke of *Ormond* hath often drank her health to me upon that account, and had always an high esteem of her. She was indeed under some apprehensions of going in a boat, after some danger she had narrowly escaped by water, but she was reasoned thoroughly out of it. She was never known to cry out, or discover any fear, in a coach or on horseback, or any uneasiness by those sudden accidents with which most of her sex, either by weakness or affectation, appear so much disordered.

She never had the least absence of mind in conversation, nor given to interruption, or appeared eager to put in her word by waiting impatiently until another had done. She spoke in a most agreeable voice, in the plainest words, never hesitating, except out of modesty before new faces, where she was somewhat reserved; nor, among her nearest friends, ever spoke much at a time. She was but little versed in the common topics of female chat; scandal, censure, and detraction, never came out of her mouth: Yet, among a few friends, in private conversation, she made little ceremony in discovering her contempt of a coxcomb, and describing all his follies to the life; but the follies of her own sex she was rather inclined to extenuate or to pity.

When she was once convinced by open facts of any breach of truth or honour, in a person of high station, especially in the church, she could not conceal her indignation, nor hear them named without shewing her displeasure in her countenance; particularly one or two of the latter sort, whom she had known and esteemed, but detested above all mankind, when it was manifest that they had sacrificed those two precious virtues to
their

their ambition, and would much sooner have forgiven them the common immoralities of the laity.

Her frequent fits of sickness, in most parts of her life, had prevented her from making that progress in reading which she would otherwise have done. She was well versed in the *Greek* and *Roman* story, and was not unskilled in that of *France* and *England*. She spoke *French* perfectly, but forgot much of it by neglect and sickness. She had read carefully all the best books of travels, which serve to open and enlarge the mind. She understood the *Platonic* and *Epicurean* philosophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abstracts of the best books she had read. She understood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of *Hobbes*, both in that and religion. She had a good insight into physic, and knew somewhat of anatomy; in both which she was instructed in her younger days by an eminent physician, who had her long under his care, and bore the highest esteem for her person and understanding. She had a true taste of wit and good sense, both in poetry and prose, and was a perfect good critic of style: Neither was it easy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whose advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to send a thing into the world, provided it was on a subject that came within the compass of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, she was sometimes too severe, which is a safe and pardonable error. She preserved her wit, judgment, and vivacity to the last, but often used to complain of her memory.

Her fortune, with some accession, could not, as I have heard say, amount to much more than two thousand pounds, whereof a great part fell with her life, having been placed upon annuities in *England*, and one in *Ireland*. In a person so extraordinary, perhaps it may be pardonable to mention some particulars, although of little moment, further than to set forth her character. Some presents of gold pieces being often made to her while she was a girl, by her mother and other friends, on promise to keep them, she grew into such a spirit of thrift, that, in about three years, they amounted to above two hundred pounds. She used to

shew them with boasting; but her mother, apprehending she would be cheated of them, prevailed, in some months, and with great importunities, to have them put out to interest: When the girl lost the pleasure of seeing and counting her gold, which she never failed of doing many times in a day, and despaired of heaping up such another treasure, her humour took the quite contrary turn: She grew careless and squandering of every new acquisition, and so continued till about two and twenty; when, by advice of some friends, and the fright of paying large bills of tradesmen, who enticed her into their debt, she began to reflect upon her own folly, and was never at rest until she had discharged all her shop bills, and refunded herself a considerable sum she had run out. After which, by the addition of a few years and a superior understanding, she became, and continued all her life a most prudent oeconomist; yet still with a strong bent to the liberal side, wherein she gratified herself by avoiding all expence in cloaths, (which she ever despised) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of sickness were very chargeable, except fees to physicians, of which she met with several so generous that she could force nothing on them, (and indeed she must otherwise have been undone;) yet she never was without a considerable sum of ready money. Insomuch that, upon her death, when her nearest friends thought her very bare, her executors found in her strong-box about a hundred and fifty pounds in gold. She lamented the narrowness of her fortune in nothing so much, as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends so often, and in so hospitable a manner as she desired. Yet they were always welcome; and, while she was in health to direct, were treated with neatness and elegance: So that the revenues of her and her companion, passed for much more considerable than they really were. They lived always in lodgings, their domestics consisting of two maids and one man. She kept an account of all the family expences, from her arrival in *Ireland* to some months before her death; and she would often repine, when looking back upon the annals of her household bills, that every thing necessary for life was
double

double the price, while interest of money was sunk almost to one half; so that the addition made to her fortune was indeed grown absolutely necessary.

[I since writ as I found time.]

But her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminished, and therefore became a tax upon those tradesmen who furnish the fopperies of other ladies. She bought cloaths as seldom as possible, and those as plain and cheap as consisted with the situation she was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of those on whom she bestowed her charity; for it went further in doing good than double the sum from any other hand. And I have heard her say, she always met with gratitude from the poor: Which must be owing to her skill in distinguishing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them.

But she had another quality that much delighted her, although it may be thought a kind of check upon her bounty; however it was a pleasure she could not resist: I mean that of making agreeable presents, wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as most in the course of life. She used to define a present, That it was a gift to a friend of something he wanted or was fond of, and which could not be easily gotten for money. I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, she hath, in these and some other kinds of liberality, disposed of to the value of several hundred pounds. As to presents made to herself, she received them with great unwillingness, but especially from those to whom she had ever given any; being on all occasions the most disinterested mortal I ever knew or heard of.

From her own disposition, at least as much as from the frequent want of health, she seldom made any visits; but her own lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many persons of the graver sort, who all respected her highly, upon her good sense, good manners, and conversation. Among these were the late Primate *Lindsay*, Bishop *Loyd*, Bishop *Ashe*, Bishop *Brown*, Bishop *Stearn*, Bishop *Pulley*, with some others of later date; and indeed the greatest

number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good nature, and modesty, were the virtues she chiefly possessed, and most valued in her acquaintance; and where she found them, would be ready to allow for some defects, nor valued them less, although they did not shine in learning or in wit; but would never give the least allowance for any failures in the former, even to those who made the greatest figure in either of the two latter. She had no use of any person's liberality, yet her detestation of covetous people made her uneasy if such a one was in her company; upon which occasion she would say many things very entertaining and humorous.

She never interrupted any person who spoke; she laughed at no mistakes they made, but helped them out with modesty; and if a good thing were spoken, but neglected, she would not let it fall, but set it in the best light to those who were present. She listened to all that was said, and had never the least distraction, or absence of thought.

It was not safe nor prudent, in her presence, to offend in the least word against modesty; for she then gave full employment to her wit, her contempt, and resentment, under which even stupidity and brutality were forced to sink into confusion; and the guilty person, by her future avoiding him like a bear or a satyr, was never in a way to transgress a second time.

It happened one single coxcomb, of the pert kind, was in her company, among several other ladies; and, in his flippant way, began to deliver some double meanings: The rest flapt their fans, and used the other common expedients practised in such cases, of appearing not to mind or comprehend what was said. Her behaviour was very different, and perhaps may be censured. She said thus to the man: "Sir, all these ladies and I understand your meaning very well, having, in spite of our care, too often met with those of your sex who wanted manners and good sense. But, believe me, neither virtuous nor even vicious women love such kind of conversation. However, I will leave you, and report your behaviour: And, whatever visit I make, I shall first inquire at the door

"door whether you are in the house, that I may be sure to avoid you." I know not whether a majority of ladies would approve of such a proceeding; but I believe the practice of it would soon put an end to that corrupt conversation, the worst effect of dulness, ignorance, impudence, and vulgarity, and the highest affront to the modesty and understanding of the female sex.

By returning very few visits, she had not much company of her own sex, except those whom she most loved for their easiness, or esteemed for their good sense; and those, not insisting on ceremony, came often to her. But she rather chose men for her companions, the usual topics of ladies discourse being such as she had little knowledge of, and less relish. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for she easily descended to any thing that was innocent and diverting. News, politics, censure, family-management, or town-talk, she always diverted to something else; but these indeed seldom happened, for she chose her company better: And therefore many, who mistook her and themselves, having solicited her acquaintance, and finding themselves disappointed after a few visits, dropt off; and she was never known to inquire into the reason, or ask what was become of them.

She was never positive in arguing, and she usually treated those who were so, in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy disposition; yet in such a sort as made it very contemptible, and at the same time did some hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her easiness in general, or from her indifference to certain persons, or from her despair of mending them, or from the same practice which she much liked in Mr *Addison*, I cannot determine; but when she saw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, she was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppose them. The excuse she commonly gave when her friends asked the reason, was, That it prevented noise, and saved time. Yet I have known her very angry with some whom she much esteemed, for sometimes falling into that infirmity.

She

She loved *Ireland* much better than the generality of those who owe both their birth and riches to it; and, having brought over all the fortune she had in money, left the reversion of the best part of it, one thousand pounds, to Dr Stephens's Hospital. She detested the tyranny and injustice of *England*, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reason to love a country, where she had the esteem and friendship of all who knew her, and the universal good-report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by those who keep general conversation. Which character is the more extraordinary, in falling to a person of so much knowledge, wit, and vivacity, qualities that are used to create envy, and consequently censure; and must be rather imputed to her great modesty, gentle behaviour, and inoffensiveness, than to her superior virtues.

Although her knowledge, from books and company, was much more extensive than usually falls to the share of her sex; yet she was so far from making a parade of it, that her female visitants, on their first acquaintance, who expected to discover it, by what they call hard words and deep discourse, would be sometimes disappointed, and say, they found she was like other women. But wise men, through all her modesty, whatever they discoursed on, could easily observe that she understood them very well, by the judgment shewn in her observations as well as in her questions.

OF THE
EDUCATION OF LADIES.

THERE is a subject of controversy which I have frequently met with, in mixt and select companies of both sexes, and sometimes only of men; whether it be prudent to chuse a wife, who hath good natural sense, some taste of wit and humour, sufficiently versed in her own natural language, able to read and to relish history, books of travels, moral or entertaining discourses, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties in poetry. This question is generally determined in the negative by the women themselves, but almost universally by the men.

We must observe, that, in this debate, those whom we call men and women of fashion are only to be understood, not merchants, tradesmen, or others of such occupations, who are not supposed to have shared in a liberal education. I except likewise all ministers of state, during their power, lawyers and physicians in great practice, persons in such employments as take up the greater part of the day, and perhaps some other conditions of life which I cannot call to mind. Neither must I forget to except all gentlemen of the army, from the General to the Ensign; because those qualifications above-mentioned, in a wife, are wholly out of their element and comprehension; together with all mathematicians, and gentlemen lovers of music, metaphysicians, virtuosi, and great talkers, who have all amusements enough of their own. All these put together will amount to a great number of adversaries, whom I shall have no occasion to encounter, because I am already of their sentiments. Those persons, whom I mean to include, are the bulk of lords, knights, and squires throughout *England*, whether they reside between the town and country, or generally in either. I do also include those of the clergy, who have tolerably good preferments in *London*, or any other parts of the kingdom.

The

The most material arguments that I have met with, on the negative side of this great question, are what I shall now impartially report, in as strong a light as I think they can bear.

It is argued, That the great end of marriage is propagation: That, consequently, the principal business of a wife is to breed children, and to take care of them in their infancy: That the wife is to look to her family, watch over the servants, see that they do their work: That she be absent from her house as little as possible: That she is answerable for every thing amiss in the family: That she is to obey all the lawful commands of her husband; and visit, or be visited, by no persons whom he disapproves. That her whole business, if well performed, will take up most hours of the day: That the greater she is, and the more servants she keeps, her inspection must increase accordingly. For, as a family represents a kingdom, so the wife, who is her husband's first minister, must, under him, direct all the officers of State, even to the lowest; and report their behaviour to her husband, as the first minister does to his prince. That such a station requires much time, and thought, and order; and, if well executed, leaves but little time for visits or diversions.

That a humour of reading books, excepting those of devotion or housewifery, is apt to turn a woman's brain. That plays, romances, novels, and love-poems, are only proper to instruct them how to carry on an intrigue. That all affectation of knowledge, beyond what is merely domestic, renders them vain, conceited, and pretending. That the natural levity of women wants ballast; and, when she once begins to think she knows more than others of her sex, she will begin to despise her husband, and grow fond of every coxcomb who pretends to any knowledge in books. That she will learn scholastic words; make herself ridiculous by pronouncing them wrong, and applying them absurdly in all companies. That, in the mean time, her household affairs, and the care of her children, will be wholly laid aside; her toilet will be crowded with all the under-wits, where the conversation will pass in criticising on the last play or poem that comes out, and she

she will be careful to remember all the remarks that were made, in order to retail them in the next visit, especially in company who know nothing of the matter. That she will have all the impertinence of a pedant, without the knowledge; and, for every new acquirement, will become so much the worse.

To say the truth, that shameful and almost universal neglect of good education among our nobility, gentry, and indeed among all others who are born to good estates, will make this essay of little use to the present age: For, considering the modern way of training up both sexes in ignorance, idleness, and vice, it is of little consequence how they are coupled together. And therefore my speculations on this subject can be only of use to a small number: For, in the present situation of the world, none but wise and good men can fail of missing their match, whenever they are disposed to marry; and, consequently, there is no reason for complaint on either side. The forms by which a husband and wife are to live, with regard to each other and to the world, are sufficiently known and fixed, in direct contradiction to every precept of morality, religion, or civil institution: It would be therefore an idle attempt to aim at breaking so firm an establishment.

But as it sometimes happens, that an elder brother dies late enough to leave the younger at the university, after he hath made some progress in learning; if we suppose him to have a tolerable genius, and a desire to improve it, he may consequently learn to value and esteem wisdom and knowledge wherever he finds them, even after his father's death, when his title and estate come into his own possession. Of this kind, I reckon, by a favourable computation, there may possibly be found, by a strict search among the nobility and gentry throughout *England*, about five hundred. Among those of all other callings or trades, who are able to maintain a son at the university, about treble that number. The sons of clergymen bred to learning with any success, must, by reason of their parents poverty, be very inconsiderable, many of them being only admitted servitors in colleges, (and consequently proving good for nothing :) I shall therefore count them to be
not

not above fourscore. But, to avoid fractions, I shall suppose there may possibly be a round number of two thousand male human creatures in *England* (including *Wales*), who have a tolerable share of reading and good sense. I include in this list all persons of superior abilities, or great genius, or true judgment and taste, or of profound literature, who, I am confident, we may reckon to be at least five and twenty.

I am very glad to have this opportunity of doing an honour to my country, by a computation which I am afraid foreigners may conceive to be partial; when, out of only fifteen thousand families of lords and estates gentlemen, which may probably be their number, I suppose one in thirty to be tolerably educated, with a sufficient share of good sense. Perhaps the censure may be just. And therefore, upon cooler thoughts, to avoid all cavils, I shall reduce them to one thousand, which, at least, will be a number sufficient to fill both Houses of Parliament.

The daughters of great and rich families, computed after the same manner, will hardly amount to above half the number of the male: Because the care of their education is either left entirely to their mothers, or they are sent to boarding-schools, or put into the hands of *English* or *French* governesses, and generally the worst that can be gotten for money. So that, after the reduction I was compelled to, from two thousand to one, half the number of well-educated nobility and gentry must either continue in a single life, or be forced to couple themselves with women for whom they can possibly have no esteem; I mean fools, prudes, coquettes, gamesters, saunterers, endless talkers of nonsense, splenetic idlers, intriguers, given to scandal and censure,

A
DISCOURSE

To prove the ANTIQUITY of the
ENGLISH TONGUE.

*Shewing, from various Instances, that HEBREW, GREEK,
and LATIN, were derived from the ENGLISH.*

DURING the reign of parties, for about forty years past, it is a melancholy consideration to observe how *Philology* hath been neglected, which was before the darling employment of the greatest authors, from the restoration of learning in *Europe*. Neither do I remember it to have been cultivated, since the Revolution, by any one person, with great success, except our illustrious modern star, Dr *Richard Bentley*, with whom the republic of learning must expire; as mathematics did with Sir *Isaac Newton*. My ambition hath been gradually attempting, from my early youth, to be the holder of a rush-light before that great luminary; which, at least, might be of some little use during those short intervals, while he was snuffing his candle, or peeping with it under a bushel.

My present attempt is to assert the antiquity of our *English Tongue*; which, as I shall undertake to prove by invincible arguments, hath varied very little for these two thousand six hundred and thirty-four years past. And my proofs will be drawn from etymology; wherein I shall use my readers much fairer than *Pezron*, *Skinner*, *Vorstigan*, *Camden*, and many other superficial pretenders have done. For I will put no force upon the words, nor desire any more favour than to allow for the usual accidents of corruption, or the avoiding a cacophonia.

I think I can make it manifest to all impartial readers, that our language, as we now speak it, was originally the same with those of the *Jews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*, however corrupted in succeeding times by a mixture of barbarisms. I shall only produce, at present, two instances among a thousand from the *Latin* tongue. *Cloaca*, which they interpret a *necessary-house*, is altogether an *English* word, the last letter *a* being, by the mistake of some scribe, transferred from the beginning to the end of the word. In the primitive orthography it is called *a cloac*, which had the same signification; and still continues so at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*: Where a man in a *cloac*, or cloak, of large circumference and length, carrying a convenient vessel under it, calls out, as he goes through the streets, *Wha has need of me?* Whatever customer calls, the vessel is placed in the corner of the street, the *cloac*, or a cloak, furrounds and covers him, and thus he is eased with decency and secrecy.

The second instance is yet more remarkable. The *Latin* word *Turpis* signifieth *nafty*, or *filthy*. Now this word *Turpis* is a plain composition of two *English* words; only, by a syncope, the last letter of the first syllable, which is *d*, is taken out of the middle, to prevent the jarring of three consonants together: And these two *English* words express the two most unseemly excrements that belong to man.

But although I could produce many other examples, equally convincing, that the *Hebrews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans* originally spoke the same language which we do at present; yet I have chosen to confine myself chiefly to the proper names of persons, because I conceive they will be of greater weight to confirm what I advance; the ground and reason of those names being certainly owing to the nature, or some distinguishing action or quality in those persons, and consequently expressed in the true antient language of the several people.

I will begin with the *Grecians*, among whom the most antient are the great leaders on both sides in the siege of *Troy*. For it is plain from *Homer*, that the *Trojans* spoke *Greek* as well as the *Grecians*. Of these latter,

latter, *Achilles* was the most valiant. This Hero was of a restless unquiet nature, never giving himself any repose either in peace or war; and therefore, as *Guy of Warwick* was called a Kill-cow, and another terrible man a Kill-devil, so this General was called *A Kill-ease*, or destroyer of ease; and at length, by corruption, *Achilles*.

Hector, on the other side, was the bravest among the *Trojans*. He had destroyed so many of the *Greeks*, by *hacking* and *tearing* them, that his soldiers, when they saw him fighting, would cry out, "Now the enemy will be *hackt*, now he will be *tore*." At last, by putting both words together, this appellation was given to their leader, under the name of *Hack-tore*; and, for the more commodious sounding, *Hector*.

Diomedes, another *Grecian* captain, had the boldness to fight with *Venus*, and wound her; whereupon the Goddess, in a rage, ordered her son *Cupid* to make this Hero be hated by all women, repeating it often that he should *die a maid*; from whence, by a small change in orthography, he was called *Diomedes*. And it is to be observed, that the term *Maiden-head* is frequently, at this very day, applied to persons of either sex.

Ajax was, in fame, the next *Grecian* general to *Achilles*. The derivation of his name from *A Jakes*, however asserted by great authors, is in my opinion, very unworthy both of them and of the Hero himself. I have often wondered to see such learned men mistake in so clear a point. This Hero is known to have been a most intemperate liver, as it is usual with soldiers; and, although he were not old, yet, by conversing with camp-strolers, he had got pains in his bones, which he pretended to his friends were only *Age-aches*; but they telling the story about the army, as the vulgar always confound right pronunciation, he was afterwards known by no other name than *Ajax*.

The next I shall mention is *Andromache*, the famous wife of *Hector*. Her father was a *Scotch* gentleman, of a noble family still subsisting in that antient kingdom. But, being a foreigner in *Troy*, to which city he led some of his countrymen in the defence of *Priam*, as *Dietys*

Cretenfis learnedly observes; *Hector* fell in love with his daughter, and the father's name was *Andrew Mackay*. The young lady was called by the same name, only a little softened to the *Grecian* accent.

Astyanax was the son of *Hector* and *Andromache*. When *Troy* was taken, this young Prince had his head cut off, and his body thrown to swine. From this fatal accident he had his name; which hath, by a peculiar good fortune, been preserved entire, *A sty, an ax*.

Mars may be mentioned among these, because he fought against the *Greeks*. He was called the God of War; and is described as a swearing, swaggering, companion, and a great giver of rude language. For, when he was angry, he would cry, "Kiss my a--se, My a--se in a band-box, My a--se all over:" Which he repeated so commonly, that he got the appellation of *My-a--se*; and, by a common abbreviation, *Mars*: from whence, by leaving out the mark of elision, *Mars*: And this is a common practice among us at present; as in the words *D'anvers, D'avenport, D'anby*, which are now written *Danvers, Davenport, Danby*, and many others.

The next is *Hercules*, otherwise called *Alcides*. Both these names are *English*, with little alteration; and describe the principal qualities of that Hero, who was distinguished for being a slave to his mistresses, and at the same time for his great strength and courage. *Omphale*, his chief mistress, used to call her lovers *Her cullies*; and, because this Hero was more and longer subject to her than any other, he was in a particular manner called the chief of *her cullies*; which, by an easy change, made the word *Hercules*. His other name *Alcides* was given him on account of his prowess: For, in fight, he used to strike on *all sides*, and was allowed on *all sides* to be the chief Hero of his age. For one of which reasons, he was called *All sides*, or *Alcides*; but I am inclined to favour the former opinion.

A certain *Grecian* youth was a great imitator of *Socrates*; which that philosopher observing, with much pleasure, said to his friends, "There is an *Ape o' mine own days*." After which the young man was called

Epa-

Epaminondas, and proved to be the most virtuous person, as well as the greatest general of his age.

Ucalegon was a very obliging inn-keeper of *Troy*. When a guest was going to take horse, the landlord took leave of him with this compliment, "Sir, I shall be glad to see you call again." Strangers, who knew not his right name, caught his last words; and thus, by degrees, that appellation prevailed, and he was known by no other name even among his neighbours.

Hydra was a great serpent which *Hercules* slew. His usual outward garment was the raw hyde of a lion, and this he had on when he attacked the serpent; which, therefore, took its name from the skin: The modesty of that Hero devolving the honour of his victory upon the lion's skin, calling that enormous snake the *Hydrau serpent*.

Leda was the mother of *Castor* and *Pollux*; whom *Jupiter* embracing in the shape of a swan, she laid a couple of eggs; and was therefore called *Laid a*, or *Leda*.

As to *Jupiter* himself: It is well known that the statues and pictures of this Heathen God, in the Roman-catholic countries, resemble those of *St Peter*, and are often taken the one for the other. The reason is manifest: For, when the emperors had established Christianity, the Heathens were afraid of acknowledging their Heathen idols of the chief God, and pretended it was only a statute of the Jew *Peter*. And thus the principal Heathen God came to be called by the antient Romans, with very little alteration, *Jupiter*.

The *Hamadryades* are represented by mistaken antiquity as *Nymphs of the Groves*. But the true account is this: They were women of *Calabria*, who dealt in bacon; and, living near the sea-side, used to pickle their bacon in salt-water, and then set it up to dry in the sun. From whence they were properly called *Ham-a-dry-a-days*, and, in process of time, mis-spelt *Hamadryades*.

Neptune, the God of the sea, had his name from the Tunes sung to him by *Tritons*, upon their shells every neap or nep tide. The word is come down to us almost uncorrupted, as well as that of the *Tritons*, his ser-

vants; who, in order to please their master, used to try all tones, till they could hit upon that he liked.

Aristotle was a Peripatetic philosopher, who used to instruct his scholars while he was walking. When the lads were come, he would *arise* to tell them what he thought proper; and was therefore called *Arise to tell*. But succeeding ages, who understood not this etymology, have, by an absurd change, made it *Aristotle*.

Aristophanes was a Greek comedian, full of levity, and gave himself too much freedom; which made a graver people not scruple to say, that he had a great deal of airy stuff in his writings: And these words, often repeated, made succeeding ages denominate him *Aristophanes*. Vide *Rosin. Antiq.* l. iv.

Alexander the Great was very fond of eggs roasted in hot ashes. As soon as his cooks heard he was come home to dinner or supper, they called aloud to their under-officers, *All eggs under the Grate*: Which, repeated every day at noon and evening, made strangers think it was that Prince's real name, and therefore gave him no other; and posterity hath been ever since under the same delusion.

Pygmalion was a person of a very low stature, but great valour; which made his townsmen call him *Pygmy lion*: And so it should be spelt; although the word hath suffered less by transcribers than many others.

Archimedes was a most famous mathematician. His studies required much silence and quiet: But his wife having several maids, they were always disturbing him with their tattle or their business; which forced him to come out every now and then to the stair-head, and cry, "*Hark ye maids*, if you will not be quiet, I shall turn you out of doors." He repeated these words, *Hark ye maids*, so often, that the unlucky jades, when they found he was at his study, would say, There is *Hark ye maids*, let us speak softly: Thus the name went through the neighbourhood; and at last, grew so general, that we are ignorant of that great man's true name to this day.

Strabo

Strabo was a famous geographer; and, to improve his knowledge, travelled over several countries, as the writers of his life inform us; who likewise add, that he affected great niceness and finery in his cloaths: From whence people took occasion to call him the *Stray beau*; which future ages have pinned down upon him very much to his dishonour.

Peloponnesus, that famous *Grecian* peninsula, got its name from a *Greek* colony in *Asia the Less*; many of whom going for traffic thither, and finding that the inhabitants had but one well in the town of * * * *, from whence certain porters used to carry the water through the city in great pails, so heavy that they were often forced to set them down for ease; the tired porters, after they had set down the pails, and wanted to take them up again, would call for assistance to those who were nearest, in these words, *Pail up, and ease us*. The stranger *Greeks*, hearing these words repeated a thousand times as they passed the street, thought the inhabitants were pronouncing the name of their country, which made the foreign *Greeks* call it *Peloponnesus*, a manifest corruption of *Pail up and ease us*.

Having mentioned so many *Grecians* to prove my hypothesis, I shall not tire the reader with producing an equal number of *Romans*, as I might easily do. Some few will be sufficient.

Cæsar was the greatest Captain of that empire: The word ought to be spelt *Seiser*, because he *seised* on not only most of the known world, but even the liberties of his own country: So that a more proper appellation could not have been given him.

Cicero was a poor scholar in the university of *Athens*, wherewith his enemies in *Rome* used to reproach him; and, as he passed the streets, would call out, *O Ciser, Ciser o!* A word still used in *Cambridge*, and answers to a servitor in *Oxford*.

Anibal was a sworn enemy of the *Romans*, and gained many glorious victories over them. This name appears at first repeating to be a metaphor drawn from tennis, expressing a skilful gamester, who can take *any ball*; and is very justly applied to so renowned a commander.

mander. Navigators are led into a strange mistake upon this article. We have usually in our fleet some large man of war, called the *Anibal* with great propriety, because it is so strong that it may defy *any ball* from a cannon. And such is the deplorable ignorance of our seamen, that they miscall it the *Honey-ball*.

Cartago was the most famous trading city in the world; where, in every street, there was many a *cart* a going, probably laden with merchants goods. Vide *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and *Suidas* upon the word *Cartago*.

The word *Roman* itself is perfectly *English*, like other words ending in *man* or *men*, as *Hangman*, *Drayman*, *Huntsman*, and several others. It was formerly spelt *Row-man*, which is the same with *Water-man*. And therefore, when we read of *Jesta* (or, as it is corruptly spelt, *Gesta*) *Romanorum*, it is to be understood of the rough manner of *jesting* used by watermen; who, upon the sides of rivers, would *row man or'um*. This I think is clear enough to convince the most incredulous.

Misanthropus was the name of an ill-natured man, which he obtained by a custom of catching a great number of *mice*, then shutting them up in a room and throwing a cat among them. Upon which his fellow citizens called him *mice and throw puss*. The reader observes how much the orthography hath been changed without altering the sound: But such depravations we owe to the injury of time, and gross ignorance of transcribers.

Among the antients, fortune-telling by the stars was a very beggarly trade. The professors lay upon straw, and their cabbins were covered with the same materials: Whence every one who followed that mystery was called *A straw lodger*, or a lodger in straw; but, in the new-fangled way of spelling, *Astrologer*.

It is remarkable that the very word *Diphthong* is wholly *English*. In former times school boys were chastised with thongs fastened at the head of a stick. It was observed that young lads were much puzzled with spelling,

ling, and pronouncing words where two vowels came together, and were often corrected for their mistakes in that point. Upon these occasions the master would dip his *tbongs* (as we now do rods) in p —, which made that difficult union of vowels to be called *Dip-thong*.

Bucephalus, the famous horse of *Alexander*, was so called because there were many grooms employed about him, which *fellows* were always *busy* in their office: and, because the horse had so many *busy fellows* about him, it was natural for those who went to the stable to say, “ Let us go to the *busy fellows* ;” by which they meant to see that Prince’s horse. And, in process of time, these words were absurdly applied to the animal itself, which was thence-forth styled *Busy-fellows*, and very improperly *Bucephalus*.

I shall now bring a few proofs of the same kind, to convince my readers that our *English* language was well known to the *Jews*.

Moses, the great leader of those people out of *Egypt*, was in propriety of speech called *Mow-seas*, because he *mowed* the *seas* down in the middle, to make a path for the *Israelites*.

Abraham was a person of strong bones and sinews, and a firm walker, which made the people say, He was a man (in the *Scotch* phrase, which comes nearest to the old *Saxon*) of a *bra ham*; that is, of a brave strong ham, from whence he acquired his name.

The man whom the *Jews* called *Balam* was a shepherd; who, by often crying *Ba* to his *lambs*, was therefore called *Baalamb*, or *Balam*.

Isaac is nothing else but *Eyes ake*; because the *Talmudists* report that he had a pain in his eyes. Vide *Ben-gorion* and the *Targum* on *Genesis*.

Thus I have manifestly proved, that the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and the *Jews*, spoke the language we now do in *England*; which is an honour to our country that I thought proper to set in a true light, and yet hath not been done, as I have heard, by any other writer.

And

And thus I ventured (perhaps too temerarily) to contribute my mite to the learned world; from whose candour, if I may hope to receive some approbation, it may probably give me encouragement to proceed on some other speculations, if possible, of greater importance than what I now offer; and which have been the labour of many years, as well as of constant watchings, that I might be useful to mankind, and particularly to mine own country.

A T R E A.

A
T R E A T I S E
O N
G O O D - M A N N E R S,
A N D
G O O D - B R E E D I N G.

GOOD-MANNERS is the art of making those people easy with whom we converse.

Whoever makes the fewest persons uneasy, is the best bred in the company.

As the best law is founded upon reason, so are the best manners. And as some lawyers have introduced unreasonable things into common law; so likewise many teachers have introduced absurd things into common good-manners.

One principal point of this art is to suit our behaviour to the three several degrees of men; our superiors, our equals, and those below us.

For instance, to press either of the two former to eat or drink is a breach of manners; but a tradesman or a farmer must be thus treated, or else it will be difficult to persuade them that they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of sense, are the three great sources of ill-manners; without some one of these defects, no man will behave himself ill for want of experience; or of what, in the language of fools, is called, knowing the world.

I defy any one to assign an incident wherein reason will not direct us what we are to say or do in company, if we are not misled by pride or ill-nature.

Therefore

Therefore I insist that good-sense is the principal foundation of good-manners: But because the former is a gift which very few among mankind are possessed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing some rules for common behaviour, best suited to their general customs, or fancies, as a kind of artificial good-sense to supply the defects of reason. Without which, the *gentlemenly* part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they seldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in squabbles about women, or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happeneth a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of those three motives. Upon which account I should be exceedingly sorry to find the legislature make any new laws against the practice of duelling; because the methods are easy, and many, for a wise man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can discover no political evil in suffering bullies, sharpers, and rakes to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law hath not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good-manners were intended for regulating the conduct of those who have weak understandings; so they have been corrupted by the persons for whose use they were contrived. For these people have fallen into a needless and endless way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troublesome to those who practise them, and insupportable to every body else: insomuch, that wise men are often more uneasy at the over-civility of these refiners, than they could possibly be in the conversations of peasants or mechanics.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour are no where better seen than at those tables where ladies preside; who value themselves upon account of their good-breeding; where a man must reckon upon passing an hour without doing any one thing he hath a mind to; unless he will be so hardy as to break through all the settled decorum of the family. She determineth what he loveth best, and how much he shall eat; and if the master of the house happeneth to be of the same disposition, he proceedeth in the same tyrannical manner

ner to prescribe in the drinking part: At the same time you are under the necessity of answering a thousand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the best fashion, yet too much of it still remaineth, especially in the country; where an honest gentleman assured me, that having been kept four days against his will at a friend's house, with all the circumstances of hiding his boots, locking up the stable, and other contrivances of the like nature, he could not remember from the moment he came into the house, to the moment he left it, any one thing, wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous accidents I have observed among these unfortunate profelytes to ceremony. I have seen a Dutchess fairly knocked down by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb, running to save her the trouble of opening a door. I remember upon a birth-day at court, a great lady was utterly disconsolate by a dish of sauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dress and brocade; while she gave a sudden turn to her elbow upon some point of ceremony with the person who sat next to her. Monsieur *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, whose politics and manners were much of a size, brought a son with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they first offered round in order, to every person in the company; so that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At last their two plates happened to encounter, and with so much violence, that being china, they broke in twenty pieces, and stained half the company with wet sweet-meats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and sciences; and sometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge be a trifle in itself, the pedantry is the greater. For which reason I look upon fiddlers, dancing-masters, heralds, masters

of the ceremony, &c. to be greater pedants than *Lipsius*, or the elder *Scaliger*. With these kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully stocked: I mean from the gentleman-usher (at least) inclusive, downward to the gentleman-porter; who are, generally speaking, the most insignificant race of people that this island can afford, and with the smallest tincture of good-manners; which is the only trade they profess. For being wholly illiterate, and conversing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole system of breeding within the forms and circles of their several offices: and as they are below the notice of ministers, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obsequiousness to those who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeness and insolence to every body else. From whence I have long concluded, that good manners are not a plant of the court growth: for if they were, those people who have understandings directly of a level for such acquirements, and who have served such long apprenticeships to nothing else, would certainly have picked them up. For as to the great officers who attend the Prince's person or councils, or preside in his family, they are a transient body, who have no better a title to good-manners, than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourse to gentlemen-ushers for instruction. So that I know little to be learned at court upon this head, except in the material circumstance of dress; wherein the authority of the maids of honour must indeed be allowed to be almost equal to that of a favourite actress.

I remember a passage my Lord *Bolingbroke* told me, that going to receive Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the Queen, the Prince said he was much concerned that he could not see her Majesty that night; for Monsieur *Hoffman* (who was then by) had assured his Highness that he could not be admitted into her presence with a tied-up periwig; that his equipage was not arrived, and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his valets and pages. My Lord turned the matter to a jest, and brought the Prince to her Majesty; for which he was highly censured by the whole tribe of

of gentlemen-ushers; among whom Monsieur *Hoffman*, an old dull resident of the Emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which, I believe, was the best lesson he had learned in five and twenty years residence.

I make a difference between good-manners and good-breeding; although, in order to vary my expression, I am sometimes forced to confound them. By the first, I only understand the art of remembering, and applying certain settled forms of general behaviour. But good-breeding is of a much larger extent; for besides an uncommon degree of literature sufficient to qualify a gentleman for reading a play, or a political pamphlet, it taketh in a great compass of knowledge; no less than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of *Italy*, riding the great horse, and speaking *French*; not to mention some other secondary, or subaltern accomplishments, which are more easily acquired. So that the difference between good-breeding and good-manners lieth in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the best understandings without study and labour: whereas a tolerable degree of reason will instruct us in every part of good-manners without other assistance.

I can think of nothing more useful upon this subject, than to point out some particulars wherein the very essentials of good-manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which doth very much disturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffic of mutual uneasiness in most companies.

First, A necessary part of good-manners is a punctual observance of time at our own dwellings, or those of others, or at third places; whether upon matter of civility, business, or diversion; which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reason, yet the greatest minister* I ever knew, was the greatest trespasser against it; by which all his business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often used to rally him as deficient in point of good-manners. I have known more than one ambassador, and secreta-

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* ROBERT HARLEY, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer to Queen ANNE.

ry of state, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with good success and applause by the mere force of exactness and regularity. If you duly observe time for the service of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifest folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it; if both are concerned to make your equal or inferior attend on you to his own disadvantage, it is pride and injustice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be filed ill-manners; because forms are subject to frequent changes; and consequently, being not founded upon reason, are beneath a wise man's regard. Besides, they vary in every country; and after a short period of time very frequently in the same: So that a man, who travelleth, must needs be at first a stranger to them in every court through which he passeth; and, perhaps, at his return, as much a stranger in his own; and, after all, they are easier to be remembered or forgotten than faces, or names.

Indeed, among the many impertinencies that superficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the rest; who look upon them not only as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and therefore zealous upon all occasions to introduce and propagate the new forms and fashions they have brought back with them: So that, usually speaking, the worst-bred person in the company is a young traveller just returned from abroad.

A L E T

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
WRITER of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

S I R,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your Papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead season of the year, into accounts of domestic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correspondents, should not understand your meaning so literally, as if you intended to reject inserting any other paper, which might probably be useful for the public. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced that this new course you resolve to take, will render you more secure than your former laudable practice, of inserting such speculations as were sent you by several well-wishers to the good of the kingdom; however grating such notices might be to some, who wanted neither power nor inclination to resent them at your cost. For, since there is a direct law against spreading false news, if you should venture to tell us in one of the Craftsmen that the *Dey of Algiers* had got the tooth-ach, or the King of *Bantam* had taken a purge, and the facts should be contradicted in succeeding packets; I do not see what plea you could offer to avoid the utmost penalty of the law, because you are not supposed to be very gracious among those who are most able to hurt you.

Besides, as I take your intentions to be sincerely meant for the public service, so your original method of entertaining and instructing us will be more general

and more useful in this season of the year, when people are retired to amusements more cool, more innocent, and much more reasonable than those they have left; when their passions are subsided or suspended; when they have no occasions of inflaming themselves, or each other; where they will have opportunities of hearing common sense, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers, and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leisure, to read and consider the advice or information you shall send them.

Another weighty reason why you should not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is because there is no suspension of arms agreed on between you and your adversaries, who fight with a sort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities, that they are never to be worn out, and are best wielded by the weakest hands, and which the poverty of our language forceth me to call by the trite appellations of Scurrility, Slander, and *Billinggate*. I am far from thinking that these gentlemen, or rather their employers, (for the operators themselves are too obscure to be guessed at) should be answered after their own way, although it were possible to drag them out of their obscurity; but I wish you would inquire what real use such a conduct is to the cause they have been so largely paid to defend. The author of the three first Occasional Letters, a person altogether unknown, hath been thought to glance (for what reasons he best knows) at some public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In answer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other side are instructed by their superiors, to single out an adversary, whose abilities they most have reason to apprehend, and to load himself, his family, and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual conversation in *Bridewell*, *Newgate*, and the stews could furnish them; but, at the same time, so very unluckily, that the most distinguishing parts of their characters strike directly in the face of their benefactor, whose idea presenting itself along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occasioned this desperate blunder.

But,

But, allowing this heap of slander to be truth, and applied to the proper person ; what is to be the consequence ? Are our public debts to be the sooner paid ; the corruptions that author complains of to be the sooner cured ; an honourable peace, or a glorious war the more likely to ensue ; trade to flourish ; the *Ostend* company to be demolished ; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mabon* left entire in our possession ; the balance of *Europe* to be preserved ; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end ; none but persons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning to be encouraged ? I ask, whether any of these effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even supposing he could prove every syllable of it to be true ?

At the same time, I am well assured, that the only reason of ascribing those papers to a particular person, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatistical spy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by those into whose company he insinuates himself ; a sort of persons who, although without much love, esteem, or dread of people in present power, yet have too much common prudence to speak their thoughts with freedom before such an intruder ; who, therefore, imposes grossly upon his masters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous mistake in a great minister to neglect or despise, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wisest persons in my time observe, that an administration was to be known and judged by the talents of those who appeared their advocates in print. This I must never allow to be a general rule ; yet I cannot but think it prodigiously unfortunate, that, among the answerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyrists, started up in defence of present persons and proceedings, there hath not yet arisen one whose labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good-will. And all this with the advantages of constant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of slander, to range over and riot in as they please.

On

On the other side, a turbulent writer of Occasional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himself, is able to disconcert, teaze, and sour us whenever he thinks fit, merely by the strength of genius and truth; and after so dextrous a manner, that, when we are vexed to the soul, and well know the reasons why we are so, we are ashamed to own the first, and cannot tell how to express the other. In a word, it seems to me that all the writers are on one side, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to assert, that it is impossible for an ill minister to find men of wit who may be drawn, by a very valuable consideration, to undertake his defence; but the misfortune is, that the heads of such writers rebel against their hearts; their genius forsakes them, when they would offer to prostitute it to the service of injustice, corruption, party-rage, and false representations of things and persons.

And this is the best argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late so very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions; although I cannot much commend their good husbandry, in those exorbitant payments of twenty and sixty guineas at a time for a scurvy pamphlet; since the sort of work they require is what will all come within the talents of any one who hath enjoyed the happiness of a very bad education, hath kept the vilest company, is endowed with a servile spirit, is master of an empty purse, and a heart full of malice.

But, to speak the truth in soberness; it should seem a little hard, since the old Whiggish principle hath been recalled of standing up for the liberty of the press, to a degree that no man, for several years past, durst venture out a thought which did not square to a point with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I say, it is a little hard that the vilest mercenaries should be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for discharging their brutalities against men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it should happen that these profligates have attacked an innocent person, I ask what satisfaction can
their

their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the most corrupt rapacious ministers, in the longest course of unlimited power, would be sufficient to atone for the hundredth part of such an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a situation sufficient in all conscience to satisfy a reasonable ambition, for a private person to command the laws, the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom, to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleases, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the dust. In such an exaltation, why should he be at the trouble to make use of fools to sound his praises, (because I always thought the lion was hard set, when he chose the ass for his trumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrels, at the expence of innocent mens reputations?

With all those advantages, I cannot see why persons, in the height of power, should be under the least concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of use; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only possession their enemies have left them. Supposing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing, if a writer displays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worse than sending customers to the shop? Here only, at the sign of the *Brazen Head*, are to be sold places and pensions: Beware of counterfeits, and take care of mistaking the door.

For my own part, I think it very unnecessary to give the character of a great minister in the fulness of his power, because it is a thing that naturally does itself, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his personal qualities are all derived into the most minute parts of his administration. If this be just, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for present exigencies, and provident of the future; such is the director himself in his private capacity: If it be rapacious, insolent, partial, palliating long and deep diseases of the public with empirical remedies, false, disguised, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you shall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to answer in every point; nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their consequences

quences by the community : As the thief-catcher, upon viewing a house broke open, could immediately distinguish, from the manner of the workmanship, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim against which an exception is not ready to start up : So, in the present case, where the minister grows enormously rich, the public is proportionably poor ; as, in a private family, the steward always thrives the fastest when his Lord is running out.

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A LET.

L E T T E R
T O

A MEMBER of PARLIAMENT

IN IRELAND,

Upon the chusing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the Year 1708.

S I R,

YOU may easily believe I am not at all surpris'd at what you tell me, since it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I sent you last week, and made you my reproaches upon it at a venture. It looks exceeding strange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your House, the two following circumstances are of great advantage: *First*, To have an ill cause; and, *secondly*, to be a minority. For both these circumstances are extremely apt to invite men, to make them assiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over profelytes, and often successful; which is not to be wondered at, when favour and interest are on the side of their opinion: Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cause are negligent and supine. They think it sufficient to declare themselves upon opinion in favour of their party; but, failing against the tide of favour and preferment, they are easily scattered and driven back. In short, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to spirit them. For the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conscience, or prospect of serving the public, will not go
very

very far under the present dispositions of mankind. This was amply verified last sessions of parliament, upon occasion of the money bill, the merits of which I shall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the first news of its transmission hither, in the form it afterwards appeared, the members, upon discourse with their friends, seemed unanimous against it, I mean those of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as persons ready to go any lengths prescribed them by the court. Yet, with only a weak canvassing among a very few hands, the bill past, after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt persuading me, or any body else, that one man in ten, of those who changed their language, were moved by reasons any way affecting the merits of the cause, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good-manners. Nay, I have been assured from good hands, that there was still a number sufficient to make a majority against the bill, if they had not apprehended the other side to be secure, and therefore thought it imprudence, by declaring themselves, to disoblige the government to no purpose.

Reflecting upon this and forty other passages, in the several Houses of Commons since the Revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a Chief Governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not succeed, with a very competent share of address, and with such assistance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I said at first, that I am not at all surpris'd at what you tell me. For, if there had been the least spark of public spirit left, those who wished well to their country and its constitution in church and state, should, upon the first news of the late Speaker's promotion, (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal sooner) have immediately gone together, and consulted about the fittest person to succeed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been so far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reason you give is the worst in the world: That none offered themselves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It seems, however, the other

ther party was more resolved, or at least not so modest: For you say your vote is engaged against your opinion, and several gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the same story of themselves. This, I confess, is of an unusual strain, and a good many steps below any condescensions a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I shall not trouble myself to inquire who is the person for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that side than one. You tell me nothing of either, and I never thought it worth the question to any body else. But, in so weighty an affair, and against your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I desire you will give me leave to reason with you a little upon the subject, lest your compliance, or inadvertency, should put you upon what you may have cause to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well, the great business of the high-flying Whigs, at this juncture, is to endeavour a repeal of the Test-clause. You know likewise that the moderate men, both of High and Low-church, profess to be wholly averse from this design, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that shelters from the north. Now, I will put the case: If the person to whom you have promised your vote be one of whom you have the least apprehension that he will promote or assent to the repealing of that clause, whether it be decent or proper he should be the mouth of an assembly, whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion? Can a body, whose mouth and heart must go so contrary-ways, ever act with sincerity, or hardly with consistence? Such a man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the sense of the House, which, in so many points of the greatest moment, will be directly contrary to his. It is full as absurd, as to prefer a man to a bishopric who denies revealed religion. But it may possibly be a great deal worse. What if the person your design to vote into that important post, should not only be a declared enemy of the Sacramental Test, but should prove to be a solicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of addresses to complain of it? Do you think it so indif-

ferent a thing, that a promise of course, the effect of compliance, importunity, shame of refusing, or any the like motive, shall oblige you past the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as some have already had the weakness, that it is of little importance to either party to have a speaker of their side, his business being only to take the sense of the House and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able speaker into the chair on purpose to prevent him from stopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this; I believe I should hardly chuse, even among my footmen, such a one to deliver a message, whose interest and opinion led him to wish it might miscarry. But I remember to have heard Colonel *Birch* of *Herefordshire* say, that he was a very sorry speaker, whose single vote was not better than fifty common ones. I am sure it is reckoned in *England* the first great test of the prevalency of either party in the House. Sir *Thomas Lyttleton* thought, that a House of Commons with a stinking breath (supposing the Speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect every thing within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the smallest part of an able Speaker's business, what he performs in the House, at least if he be in with the court, when it is hard to say how many converts may be made in a circle of dinner or private cabals. And you and I easily call to mind a gentleman in that station, in *England*, who, by his own arts and personal credit, was able to draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing side in a nice juncture of affairs, and made a parliament expire in one party who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party-causes, but surely the best of us can with very ill grace make that an objection, who have not been so nice in matters of much less importance. Yet I have heard some persons of both sides gravely deliver themselves in this manner, Why should we make the chusing a speaker a party-cause? Let us fix upon one who is well versed in the practices and methods of parliament. And I believe there are too many who would talk at

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the same rate, if the question were not only about abolishing the Sacramental Test, but the sacrament itself.

But suppose the principles of the most artful Speaker would have no influence either to obtain or obstruct any point in parliament, who can answer what effects such a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how such a matter serves to raise the spirits and hopes of the Dissenters and their high flying advocates, what lengths they run, what conclusions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? That is encouragement enough to practise the city, against the opinion of a majority, into an address to the Queen for repealing the Sacramental Test; or issue out their orders to the next fanatic parson to furbish up his old sermons, and preach and print new ones directly against Episcopacy. I would lay a good wager, that, if the choice of a new Speaker succeeds exactly to their liking, we shall see it soon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, sermon, or address, to the same, or perhaps more dangerous purposes.

Supposing the Speaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a step to a better; since it is in your own gift, will you not chuse to bestow it upon some person whose principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be sure of a worthy man hereafter in a high station, on the bench or at the bar?

I confess, if it were a thing possible to be compassed, it would seem most reasonable to fill the chair with some person who would be entirely devoted to neither party: But, since there are so few of that character, and those either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot see how a majority will answer it to their reputation, to be so ill provided of able persons, that they must have recourse for a leader to their adversaries, a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that succeeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which advised some city in Greece to beg a General from their enemies, who, in scorn, sent them either a sidler or a poet, I have forgotten which; but

so much I remember, that his conduct was such, as they soon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily resolved against repealing the Sacramental Test, yet, at the same time, give the only great employment you have to dispose of, to a person who will take that test against stomach, (by which word I understand many a man's conscience) who earnestly wisheth it repealed, and will endeavour it to the utmost of his power; so that the first action after you meet, will be a sort of contravention to that Test: And will any body go further than your practice to judge of your principles?

And now I am upon this subject, I cannot conclude without saying something to a very popular argument against that Sacramental Test, which may be apt to shake many of those who would otherwise wish well enough to it. They say it was a new hardship put upon the Dissenters, without any provocation; and, it is plain, could be no way necessary, because we had peaceably lived together so long without it. They add some other circumstances of the arts by which it was obtained, and the person by whom it was inserted. Surely such people do not consider that the penal laws against Dissenters were made wholly ineffectual by the connivance and mercy of the government, so that all employments of the state lay as open to them as they did to the best and most legal subjects. And what progress they would have made by the advantages of a late conjuncture, is obvious to imagine; which I take to be a full answer to that objection.

I remember, upon the transmission of that bill with the Test-clause inserted, the Dissenters and their partizans, among other topics, spoke much of the good effects produced by the lenity of the government: That the Presbyterians were grown very inconsiderable in their number and quality, and would daily come into the church, if we did not fright them from it by new severities. When the act was passed, they presently changed their style, and raised a clamour, through both kingdoms, of the great numbers of considerable gentry who were laid aside, and could no longer serve their Queen and country: Which hyperbolical

lical way of reckoning, when it came to be melted down into truth, amounted to about fifteen country-justices, most of them of the lowest size, for estate, quality, or understanding. However, this puts me in mind of a passage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be any where recorded. That a complaint was made to the King and Council of Sweden, of a prodigious swarm of Scots, who, under the condition of pedlars, infested that kingdom to such a degree, as, if not suddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the state, by joining with any discontented party. Meanwhile the Scots, by their agents, placed a good sum of money to engage the offices of the prime Minister in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the Council, He was assured they were but a few inconsiderable people, that lived honestly and poorly, and were not of any consequence. Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: Whereupon an order was made to take their numbers, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thousand. The affair was again brought before the Council, and great reproaches made the first minister, for his ill computation; who, presently taking the other handle, said, he had reason to believe the number yet greater than what was returned; and then gravely offered to the King's consideration, whether it were safe to render desperate so great a body of able men, who had little to lose, and whom any hard treatment would only serve to unite into a power capable of disturbing, if not destroying the peace of the kingdom. And so they were suffered to continue.

X 3

A L E T.

A
LETTER from Sir JOHN BROWNE

TO
DOCTOR SWIFT.

REVEREND SIR,

Dawson-Street, April 4, 1728.

BY a strange fatality, though you were the only person in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the secret of it: The ignorant poor man, who was entrusted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the secret from all others, yet, from the nature of the subject, he concluded that I could have no interest in concealing it from you, who were so universally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the general welfare of *Ireland*. But, though the accident gave me some uneasiness at first; yet, when I consider your character, I cannot doubt (however slender the foundation of such a hope may be from any merits of my own) but your generosity will oblige you to conceal what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I shall not presume, Sir, to detain you with the narrative of the original, and progress of the parliamentary accusations and votes against me; although, would you do me the honour to inquire, I could easily convince you from my own particular case, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad, according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either: One which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the subject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may say so) in the subject, and describes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All

All I shall beg of you, is to suspend your judgment upon it, since all parties allow that although I had several summons from the Committee for *Monday*, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their summons, yet I was tied down by the Committee the preceding *Saturday*, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithstanding any thing I could urge to the contrary. This I hope I may say without injury to Mr *Bingham*: For sure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magistrate under the immediate direction of the Lord Chief-Justice who takes examinations against him: Examinations that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent also.

It shall suffice therefore to say, I went from *Ireland* loaded with the severest censures of the House of Commons: Injured, as I thought, and oppressed to the greatest degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itself; and all that by an overbearing, overpowering interest.

I sought, in *England*, for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me: My countrymen avoided me. The nature of man is sociable: I was forced to herd with strangers: A Prime Minister, engaged in the success of a scheme, wants no emissaries to spy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately set by those sort of creatures: My sentiments on the state of our money-matters were indutiously sifted through me; and when that was done, before I knew any thing of the matter, I was served with his Majesty's summons: In a hurry I ran out of town, and staid in the country a while; but, on my return again, found another summons at my lodgings; and, terrified by the dismal effects of power at home from risking a second shipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the *Cockpit*.

It is true my appearance at the *Cockpit*, to those who knew me only by the votes of the House of Commons, must have looked like a design of revenge; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions the worst colour. But, to take the matter impartially,

Sir,

Sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the dismal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehensions of second dangers? Is there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all these fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated summons of the Council of England, in which his Majesty was present, and if he was there, after a long and strenuous opposition, forced to tell his sentiments? Forced, Sir, to tell his sentiments, not in the manner represented to the world, but in a manner the most cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppose the inclinations of our parliament.

But, alas, the consequence! You, Sir, the defender of Ireland, were soon engaged against me on that account; and that fatal genius of yours, in an instant, ruined my character; but, even ruin-bearing as it was, I blessed it: The cause which you undertook was dear to me; and though fame is the last thing which one would sacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleasure, whilst you thought it necessary for the public good so to do: But now the end is served, Dear Sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato being told that certain persons aspersed his character, and represented him abroad as a very ill man; instead of expostulating with his enemies, and returning reproach for reproach, concealed himself, saying, *No matter, my friends, the whole life of Plato shall give his accusers the lie.*

Could I set before me a greater example? Under the general displeasure of my country, under all the censures which the restless malice of my enemies could devise, and under the keen edge of the *Drapier's* wit; the only revenge I indulged myself, was by a steady love for my country, and by manifest acts of affection thereto, to be a silent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, Sir, permit me in peace to take his great example; and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppress me. They have already gained their cause by you: But I must say, it was not the sword of *Ajax*, but the armour of *Achilles* which he put on, that won the day.

The

The cause for which you undertook my ruin, was the cause of my country: It was a good cause, and you shall ever find me of that side. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! Sir, as long as your works subsist, where ever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain. It is a hard sentence; and yet unless the spear of *Achilles*, the same instrument which gave the wound, administer the remedy, it must be so.

In short, Sir, you must be a man of honour: It is not possible that honour should be wanting where all the distinguishing characteristics of it are found: I cannot doubt it; and therefore I will let you fully into a secret which accident has given you a part of, and I am sure you will keep it.

The source of all my misfortunes was the vote of the House of Commons; but I have laboured however, as I always shall, to serve my country and make myself agreeable to them: And though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private conversation of my countrymen, which is the surest and best way to know our true interest; yet I flatter myself that my little Essays may be useful, at least they may be no bad beginning: And you know it is easy to add to a work once begun. But if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it useless to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's mistake made me determine this private application to: And I must say, that I shall reckon it no small degree of honour, if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean time I shall beg the favour of you, to keep a secret which no other person but my printer, my bookseller, and the bearer knows. I am,

REVEREND SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN BROWNE.

A L E T

L E T T E R

O N

Mr M'CULLA's Project about HALFPENCE, and a new one proposed.

Written in M,DCC,XXIX.

S I R,

YOU desire to know my opinion concerning Mr M'Culla's project, of circulating notes stamped on copper, that shall pass for the value of halfpence and pence. I have some knowledge of the man; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes: But I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time I called at his house, where I discoursed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a stranger to his character. He talked to me in the usual style, with a great profession of zeal for the public-good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a first Minister of State down to a corn-cutter. But, I stopped him short, as I would have done a better man; because it is too gross a practice to pass at any time, and especially in this age, where we all know one another so well. Yet, whoever proposeth any scheme, which may prove to be a public benefit, I shall not quarrel, if it prove likewise very beneficial to himself. It is certain, that, next to the want of silver, our greatest distress in point of coin is the want of small change, which may be some poor relief for the defect of the former, since the crown will not please to take that work upon them here as they do in *England*. One thing in Mr M'Culla's book is certainly

certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, brass, iron, or any other material (except gold and silver) as well as upon paper. The question is, whether I can sue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor seal, nor witnesses to prove it. To supply this, he hath proposed, that the materials upon which his note is written, shall be in some degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be inquired into. His scheme is this,

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, stamp't with a promissary note to pay you twenty pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you shall return them. Eight and forty of these halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound, and he sells you that pound, coined and stamped, for two shillings; by which he clearly gains a little more than 16 *per cent.* that is to say, two pence in every shilling.

This will certainly arise to a great sum, if he should circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of silver, may very probably require: Enough indeed to make any *Irish* tradesman's fortune; which, however, I should not repine at in the least, if we could be sure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raise the common objection, why Mr *M'Culla* would not give security to pay the whole sum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my Lord *Dartmouth* and Colonel *Moor* were by their patents obliged to do. To which he gave me some answers plausible enough. *First*, he conceived that his coins were much nearer to the intrinsic value than any of those coined by patents, the bulk and goodness of the metal equalling the best *English* halfpence made by the crown. That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and designing people, who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, since he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him which he could not be able to support. And, *lastly*, that his copper, as is already said, being equal in value and bulk to the *English* halfpence, he did not apprehend they should ever be returned, unless a combination,

bination, proceeding from spite and envy, might be formed against him.

But there are some points in his proposal which I cannot well answer for, nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himself. The *first* is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the *English* halfpence and farthings? And, *secondly*, whether he will always continue to give us as good? And, *thirdly*, when he will think fit to stop his hand, and give us no more? For I should be as sorry to be at the mercy of Mr M'Culla, as of Mr Wood.

There is another difficulty of the last importance. It is known enough that the crown is supposed to be neither gainer nor loser by the coinage of any metal: For they subtract, or ought to subtract no more from the intrinsic value than what will just pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the question. By what I could gather from Mr M'Culla, good copper is worth fourteen pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he sells his copper notes for two shillings the pound, and will pay twenty pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper must be six pence, which is 30 *per cent*. The world should be particularly satisfied on this article, before he vends his notes: For the discount of 30 *per cent*. is prodigious, and vastly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent*. which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a discount of about 46 *per cent*. Or, to reckon I think a fairer way; whoever buys a pound of Mr M'Culla's coin, at two shillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loser of 41 *l*. 13 *s*. 4 *d*. *per cent*. But, however, this high discount of 30 *per cent*. will be no objection against M'Culla's proposal; because, if the charge of coinage will honestly amount to so much, and we suppose his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater sufferer of the two; because the buyer can lose but four pence in a pound, and M'Culla must lose six pence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon

Upon the whole, there are some points which must be settled to the general satisfaction, before we can safely take Mr *M'Culla's* copper notes for value received; and how he will give that satisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The *first* point is, That we shall be always sure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineness to the best *English* halfpence.

The *second* point is, To know what allowance he makes to himself, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coining. As to the weight, the matter is easy by his own scheme: For, as I have said before, he proposes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two shillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty pence: So that, supposing pure copper to be fourteen pence a pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coining, as I have already observed, besides 16 *per cent.* when he sells it. But, if to this he adds any alloy, to debase the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.* then Mr *M'Culla's* promissory notes will, to the intrinsic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* discount.

For, subtracting 10 *per cent.* off 60 *l.* worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half *per cent.* in the whole 100 *l.* which added to

41	13	4
5	10	0
47 3 4		

will be *per cent.*

That we are under great distress for change, and that Mr *M'Culla's* copper notes, on supposition of the metal being pure, is less liable to objection than the project of *Wood*, may be granted; but such a discount, where we are not sure even of our twenty pence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his scheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had some copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with those of Mr *M'Culla*, and observed as follows:

First, I weighed Mr *M'Culla's* halfpenny against an *English* one of King *Charles II.* which outweighed Mr *M'Culla's* a fourth part, or 25 *per cent.*

I likewise weighed an *Irish Patrick* and *David* half-penny, which outweighed Mr M'Culla's $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It had a very fair and deep impression, and milled very skilfully round.

I found that even a common Harp halfpenny, well preserved, weighed equal to Mr M'Culla's. And even some of *Wood's* halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think *Wood's* copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid these loose thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digesting them better. I am no enemy to Mr M'Culla's project, but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of King *Charles II.* which I weighed against Mr M'Culla's, was of the fairest kind I had seen. However, it is plain the crown could afford it without being a loser. But it is probable, that the officers of the mint were then more honest than they have since thought fit to be; for I confess not to have met those of any other year so weighty, or in appearance of so good metal, among all the copper coins of the three last reigns; yet these, however, did much outweigh those of Mr M'Culla; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed seen accidentally one or two very light, but it must certainly have been done by chance, or rather, I suppose them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at present. I am ignorant of the price, further than by his informing me, that it is only fourteen pence a pound; by which I observe he charges the coinage at 30 per cent. And therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to say the truth, the dearness or cheapness of the metal do not properly enter into the question. What we desire is, that it should be of the best kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver should be reduced from 16 to 8 per cent. and the charge of coinage, if possible, from 30 to 10, or 15 at most.

Mr

Mr *M'Culla* must also give good security that he will coin only a determinate sum, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds; by which, although he should deal with all uprightness imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of King *Charles II.*; he will at 16 *per cent.* gain three thousand two hundred pounds: A very good additional job to a private tradesman's fortune.

I must advise him also to employ better workmen, and make his impressions deeper and plainer, by which a rising rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preserve the letter from wearing out too soon. He hath no wardens nor masters, or other officers of the mint to suck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and skilful workmen.

Whether this project will succeed in Mr *M'Culla's* hands, (which, if it be honestly executed, I should be glad to see;) one thing I am confident of, that it might be easily brought to perfection, by a society of nine or ten honest gentlemen of fortune, who wish well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor losers, further than the bare interest of their money. And Mr *M'Culla*, as being the first starter of the scheme, might be considered and rewarded by such a society; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I should think it an honour and happiness to be one, even with borrowed money upon the best security I could give. And, first, I am confident, without any skill but by general reason, that the charge of coining copper would be very much less than 30 *per cent.* Secondly, I believe ten thousand pounds, in halfpence and farthings, would be sufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and most *unnecessary distress* for the want of silver; and that, without such a distress, half the sum would suffice.

For I compute and reason thus: The city of *Dublin*, by a gross computation, contains ten thousand families; and, I am told by shopkeepers, that, if silver were as plenty as usual, two shillings in copper would be sufficient, in the course of business, for each family; but, in consideration of the want of silver, I would

allow five shillings to each family, which would amount to 2,500 *l.*; and, to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced harp halfpence, which are left of Lord *Dartmouth's* and *Moor's* patents, under King *Charles II.*; and the small *Patrick* and *David* for farthings. To the rest of the kingdom I would assign the 7,500 *l.* remaining; reckoning *Dublin* to answer one fourth of the kingdom, as *London* is judged to answer (if I mistake not) one third of *England*; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of small change by the number of souls in the kingdom, besides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means just. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at least are beggars, in all circumstances except that of wandering about for alms; and that circumstance may arrive soon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thousand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of *Ireland*, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting small change, cannot be above forty or fifty thousand; which the sum of ten thousand pounds, with the addition of the fairest old halfpence, would tolerably supply. For, if we give too great a loose to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleases, the kingdom will be (how shall I express it under our present circumstances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very strong light, the villainy of *Wood*, who proposed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds in copper, for the use of *Ireland*; whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaden with ten or a dozen shillings, although *Wood* might not transgress the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other side, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half a crown.

But, to return to the proposal I have made: Suppose ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, should raise 200 *l.* apiece; and, from the time the money is deposited as they shall agree, should begin to charge it with seven *per cent.* for their own use: That they should as soon

soon as possible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper sufficient for coining two thousand pounds, subtracting a fifth part of the interest of ten thousand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the same interest to be subtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000 *l.* each, with a just allowance for other necessary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply stamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can consist to have it rightly coined, (wherein I am wholly ignorant) and the bulk as large as that of King *Charles II.* And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint security to receive all the coins they issue out for seven or ten years, and return gold and silver without any defalcation.

Let the same club or company, when they have issued out the first two thousand pounds, go on the second year, if they find a demand, and that their scheme hath answered to their own intention as well as to the satisfaction of the public; and, if they find 7 *per cent.* not sufficient, let them subtract 8, beyond which I would not have them go: And, when they have, in two years, coined ten thousand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but shut up their mint, and dismiss their workmen; unless the real, universal, unsolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, shall signify a desire that they should go on for a certain sum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themselves, one of which should be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loss of intrinsic value in the coinage of 10,000 *l.* in copper, under the management of such a society of gentlemen.

First, It is plain, that, instead of somewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr *McCalla*, this society desires but 8 *per cent.*

Y-3

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas Mr M'Culla charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent*. I hope and believe this society will be able to perform it at ten.

Thirdly, Whereas it doth not appear that Mr M'Culla can give any security for the goodness of his copper, because not one in ten thousand have the skill to distinguish; the society will be all engaged that theirs shall be of the best standard.

Fourthly, That, whereas Mr M'Culla's halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of King Charles II. these gentlemen will oblige themselves to the public, to give the coin of the same weight and goodness with those halfpence, unless they shall find they cannot afford it; and, in that case, they shall beforehand inform the public, shew their reasons, and signify how large they can make them without being losers; and so give over or pursue their scheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the best *English* halfpence that have been coined in the three last reigns, which very much outweigh those of Mr M'Culla. And this advantage will arise in proportion, by lessening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent*. to 10 or 15, or 20 at most. But I confess myself in the dark on that article; only I think it impossible it should amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent*. otherwise the coiners of those counterfeit halfpence, called *Raps*, would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in such a society would be, the paying 8 *per cent*. instead of 16, the being sure of the goodness and just weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any further coinage than what was absolutely necessary to supply the wants and desires of the kingdom: And all this under the security of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the best security and satisfaction, that they had no design to turn the scheme into a job.

As to any mistakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment; and I shall not descend so low as to justify them against any caviller.

The

The strongest objection against what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear visionary, is the difficulty to find half a score gentlemen, who, out of a public spirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal interest, to be overseers of a mint for five years; and perhaps, without any justice, raise the clamour of the people against them. Besides, it is most certain that many a squire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the best of it, as Mr *McCulla* himself, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten such persons in this town, if they had only some visible mark to know them at sight. Yet I just foresee another inconveniency: That knavish men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination; while those who are honest and best intentioned, may be the instruments of as much mischief to the public, for want of cunning, as the greatest knaves; and more, because of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the serpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the most difficult point. It is not so hard to find an honest man, as to make this honest man active, and vigilant, and skilful; which I doubt will require a spur of profit greater than my scheme will afford him, unless he will be contented with the honour of serving his country, and the reward of a good conscience.

After reviewing what I had written, I see very well that I have not given any allowance for the first charge of preparing all things necessary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200 *l.* besides 20 *l.* *per annum* for five years rent of a house to work in. I can only say, that this making in all 300 *l.* it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000 *l.*

But the great advantages to the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen, such as I have already described, (if such are to be found,) are these:

First, They propose no other gain to themselves than 1 *per cent.* above the legal interest for the money they

they advance; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-house.

Secondly, They bind themselves to make their coins of as good copper as the best *English* halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight: And do likewise bind themselves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it shall really stand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of seven or ten years, as shall be thought proper upon mature consideration, pay gold and silver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that shall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins shall have a deep impresson, leaving a rising rim on both sides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges shall be milled.

I suppose they need not be very apprehensive of counterfeits, which will be difficult to make so as not to be discovered: For it is plain that those bad halfpence, called *Raps*, are so easily distinguished, even from the most worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great present want of change.

I shall here subjoin some computations relating to Mr M'Culla's copper notes. They were sent to me by a person well skilled in such calculations, and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr M'Culla charges good copper at fourteen pence *per* pound, but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 oz. to a lb. - - - 6960 grains.

A pound Troy weight - - - 5760 grains.

Mr M'Culla's copper is fourteen pence *per* pound Avoirdupois.

Two of Mr M'Culla's penny-notes, one with another, weigh - - - 524 grains.

By which computation, 2 s. of his notes,

which he sells for 1 lb. weight, will

weigh - - - 6288 grains.

But 1 lb. Avoirdupois weighs, as above, 6960 grains.

This

This difference makes 10 *per cent* to Mr M'Culla's profit, in point of weight.

The old <i>Patrick</i> and <i>David</i> halfpenny weighs	149 grains.
Mr M'Culla's halfpenny weighs	131 grains.

The difference is	18
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Which is equal to 10. 1 half *per cent*.

The *English* halfpenny of King *Charles*

II. weighs	167 grains.
M'Culla's halfpenny weighs	131 grains.

The difference	36
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Which difference allowed a fifth part is 20 *per cent*.

Another Computation.

Mr M'Culla allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth twenty pence, for which he demands two shillings.

His coinage he computes at six pence *per* pound weight; therefore, by laying out only twenty pence, and gaining four pence, he makes *per cent*.

profit	20
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The six-pence <i>per</i> pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes <i>per cent</i> .	30
---	----

The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is <i>per cent</i> .	10
--	----

By all which, (<i>viz.</i> coinage, profit, and want of weight) the public loses <i>per cent</i> .	60
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If Mr M'Culla's coins will not pass, and he refuses to receive them back, the owner cannot sell them at above twelve-pence *per* pound weight; whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per cent*. he will lose 60 *per cent*.

The scheme of the society, raised as high as it can possibly be, will be only thus:

For interest of their money, <i>per cent</i> .	8
--	---

For coinage, instead of 10, suppose, at most <i>per cent</i> .	20
--	----

For

For 300 *l.* laid out for tools, a mint, and
house-rent, charge 3 *per cent.* upon the
coinage of 10,000 *l.* - - -

3

Charges in all upon interest, coinage, &c.
per cent. - - -

31

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned of the goodness of the metal, the largeness of the coin, the deepness and fairness of the impression, the assurance of the society confining itself to such a sum as they undertake, or as the kingdom shall approve; and lastly, their paying in gold or silver for all their coin returned upon their hands, without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and, with a little steadiness and activity, could, I doubt not, be easily compassed.

I would not in this scheme recommend the method of promissory notes after Mr M'Culla's manner; but, as I have seen in old *Irish* coins, the words *Civitas Dublin* on one side, with the year of our Lord, and the *Irish* Harp, on the reverse.

A LET.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,
concerning the WEAVERS.

MY LORD,

THE Corporation of Weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have so often attended your Grace, and called upon me with their schemes and proposals, were with me on *Thursday* last; when he who spoke for the rest, and in the name of his absent brethren, said, It was the opinion of the whole body, that if somewhat were written at this time by an able hand, to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good use to the nation in general, and preserve many hundreds of their trade from starving. To which I answered, That it was hard for any man of common spirit to turn his thoughts to such speculations, without discovering a resentment which people are too delicate to bear. For I will not deny to your Grace, that I cannot reflect on the singular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without some emotion, and without often examining, as I pass the streets, whether those animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the same species with what I have seen very like them in *England*, as to the outward shape, but differing in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in a forest; which any man of common prudence would immediately discover, by persuading them to define what they mean by law, liberty, property, courage, reason, loyalty, or religion.

One

One thing, my Lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our sins, would most justly send us a pestilence, whoever should dare to discover his grief in public for such a visitation, would certainly be censured for disaffection to the government. For I solemnly profess, that I do not know one calamity we have undergone these many years, whereof any man, whose opinions were not in fashion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, because although a mother, when she hath corrected her child, may sometimes force it to kiss the rod, yet she will never give that power to the foot-boy or the scullion.

My Lord, There are two things for the people of this kingdom to consider: *First*, Their present evil condition; and, *secondly*, What can be done in some degree to remedy it.

I shall not enter into a particular description of our present misery: It hath been already done in several papers, and very fully in one intituled *A short View of the State of Ireland*. It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmost rigor, the remission of a million every year to *England*, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppression of landlords, and discouragement of agriculture.

Now all those evils are without the possibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence against ruinous folly will be always in our power, in spite of the discouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and oppression we labour under: But our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be softened, our absentees never return, our endless foreign payments never be lessened, our own landlords never be less exacting.

All other schemes for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and visionary, consequently drawn from wrong reasoning, and from general topics, which, for the same causes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly false in ours; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I shall say at present is likely to produce.

I am

I am weary of so many abortive projects, for the advancement of trade; of so many crude proposals, in letters sent me from unknown hands; of so many contradictory speculations, about raising or sinking the value of gold and silver: I am not in the least sorry to hear of the great numbers going to *America*, although very much for the causes that drive them from us, since the uncontrolled maxim, "That people are the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumstances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to support them.

If a private gentleman's income be sunk irretrievably for ever from a hundred pounds to fifty, and that he hath no other method to supply the deficiency, I desire to know, my Lord, whether such a person hath any other course to take, than to sink half his expences in every article of œconomy, to save himself from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the case of *Ireland*, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above-mentioned, and many more tho' well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to relate, have been gradually sinking us for above a dozen years past, to a degree that we are at least by two thirds in a worse condition than was ever known since the Revolution. Therefore, instead of dreams and projects for advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out some expedient whereby we may reduce our expences to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed so necessary in all private families, and in its own nature so easy to be put in practice, may meet with strong opposition by the cowardly slavish indulgence of the men to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, strictly adhering to the rules of modern education, seem to employ their whole stock of invention in contriving new arts of profusion faster than the most parsimonious husband can afford: And to compass this work the more effectually, their universal maxim is to despise and detest every thing of the growth and manufacture of their own country, and most to value whatever comes from the very remotest parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that, if the virtuosi could once

find out a world in the moon, with a passage to it, our women would wear nothing but what came directly from thence.

The prime cost of wine yearly imported to *Ireland* is valued at 30,000 *l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that sum. The lace, silks, callicoos, and all other unnecessary ornaments for women, including *English* cloths and stuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute grossly) about 400,000 *l.*

Now, if we should allow the 30,000 *l.* wherein the women have their share, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000 *l.* more for over-reaching, there would still remain 300,000 *l.* annually spent, for unwholesome drugs and unnecessary finery. Which prodigious sum would be wholly saved, and many thousands of our miserable shop-keepers and manufacturers comfortably supported.

Let speculative people busy their brains as much as they please, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from sinking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign dress and luxury.

It is absolutely so in fact, that every husband, of any fortune in the kingdom, is nourishing a poisonous devouring serpent in his bosom, with all the mischief, but with none of its wisdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might still vye with each other in the course of foppery, and still have room left to vye with each other, and equally shew their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of *Irish* stuffs. And, if they could be contented with their native wholesome fops for breakfast, we should hear no more of their spleen, hysterics, cholics, palpitations, and asthmas. They might still be allowed to ruin each other, and their husbands at play, because the money lost would only circulate among ourselves.

My Lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the sottishness of men, or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the most effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common course of buying

and

and selling the very necessaries of life in our markets, unless we absolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and silk, who have so frequently offered proposals both to your Grace and to me, are the hottest and coldest generation of men that I have known. About a month ago, they attended your Grace, when I had the honour to be with you, and designed me the same favour. They desired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of *Irish* stuffs, which might probably spread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom; and, perhaps, among the lawyers and gentlemen of the university, and among the citizens of those corporations who appear in gowns on solemn occasions. I then mentioned a kind of stuff, not above eight pence a yard, which I heard had been contrived by some of the trade, and was very convenient. I desired they would prepare some of that, or any sort of black stuff, on a certain day, when your Grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your Grace's visitation approaching, you could then have the best opportunity of seeing what could be done in a matter of such consequence, as they seemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But instead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new proposal, that something should be written, by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home manufactures, and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I asked if they had prepared the stuffs, as they had promised, and your Grace expected; but they had not made the least step in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did, some years ago, propose to the masters and principal dealers in the home manufactures of silk and wool, that they should meet together; and, after mature consideration, publish advertisements to the following purpose.

That, in order to encourage the wearing of *Irish* manufactures in silk and woollen, they gave notice to the

nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they the under-signed, would enter into bonds for themselves, and for each other, to sell the several sorts of stuffs, cloths, and silks, made to the best perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in such a manner, that, if a child were sent to any of their shops, the buyer might be secure of the value and goodness, and measure of the ware: And, lest this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of the trade might be admitted, upon such conditions as should be agreed on. And, if any person whatsoever should complain that he was ill-used in the value and goodness of what he bought, the matter should be examined, the person injured be fully satisfied by the whole corporation, without delay, and the dishonest seller be struck out of the society, unless it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from mistake.

The mortal danger is, that if these dealers could prevail, by the goodness and cheapness of their cloths and stuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of *Ireland* in favour of their goods, they would relapse into the knavish practice peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even so low as a common ale-feller; who, as soon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and outsells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worst he can buy, till his customers will come no more. Thus I have known at *London*, in a general mourning, the drapiers dye black all their old damaged goods, and sell them at double rates, then complain and petition the court, that they are ready to starve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I say, those principal weavers, who would enter into such a compact as I have mentioned, must give sufficient security against all such practices: For, if once the women can persuade their husbands that foreign goods, besides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more service, our last state will be worse than the first.

I do not here pretend to digest perfectly the method by which these principal shop-keepers shall proceed in such

such a proposal ; but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot reasonably be objected against.

We have seen what a destructive loss the kingdom received, by the detestable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both ; notwithstanding all the care of the governors at that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the *Spaniards* for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of 300,000 *l.* a year. But, while we deal like pedlars, we shall practise like pedlars, and sacrifice all honesty to the present urging advantage.

What I have said may serve as an answer to the desire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to any thing further, let them apply themselves to the parliament in their next session. Let them prevail on the House of Commons to grant one very reasonable request ; and I shall think there is still some spirit left in the nation, when I read a vote to this purpose : Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this House will, for the future, wear no cloths but such as are made of *Irish* growth, or of *Irish* manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other : And that they will, to the utmost, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants to follow their example. And if, at the same time, they could banish tea, and coffee, and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their scandal over an infusion of sage, or other wholesome domestic vegetables, we might possibly be able to subsist, and pay our absentees, pensioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, students, schoolboys, splenetic visitors of *Bath*, *Tunbridge*, and *Epsom*, with all other smaller drains, by sending our crude unwrought goods to *England*, and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own subsistence.

I have been, for a dozen years past, wisely prognosticating the present condition of this kingdom ; which any human creature, of common sense, could foretel, with as little sagacity as myself. My meaning is, that

a consumptive body must needs die, which hath spent all its spirits, and received no nourishment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardness of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill seasons, which better climates than ours are more exposed to; or to scarcity of silver, which, to a nation of liberty, would only be a slight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ANSWER

A N S W E R

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS from unknown PERSONS.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXIX.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think that I received a letter from you two * last summer, directed to *Dublin*, while I was in the country, whither it was sent me, and I ordered an answer to it to be printed; but, it seems, it had little effect, and I suppose this will have not much more. But the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed. And, gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing: That the world is too regardless of what we write for the public good: That, after we have delivered our thoughts, without any prospect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by subscribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of sending it into the world, unless we will be at all, or half the expence: And, although we are willing enough to bestow our labours, we think it unreasonable to be out of pocket; because it, probably, may not consist with the situation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and, in a great measure, your manner of declaring them; and I do imagine you intended that the world should not only know your sentiments, but my answer, which I shall impartially give.

That great Prelate, in whose cover you directed your letter, sent it to me this morning; and I begin my answer

* *Trueman and Layfield.*

swer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet with.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my answer; because, I conceive, it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I shall therefore now go on to answer your letter in all manner of sincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myself to be only an imaginary person: For although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never answered it otherwise than in print; neither was I at a loss to know the reasons why so many people of this kingdom were transporting themselves to *America*. And, if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of *Pennsylvania*, to tempt people to go thither; I do declare that those who were tempted, by such a narrative, to such a journey, were fools, and the author a most impudent knave; at least, if it be the same pamphlet I saw when it first came out, which is above twenty-five years ago, dedicated to *William Pen*, (whom by a mistake, you call Sir *William Pen*) and styling him, by authority of the Scripture, Most Noble Governor. For I was very well acquainted with *Pen*, and did, some years after, talk with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who spoke so many things in praise of the soil and climate, which *Pen* himself did absolutely contradict. For he did assure me, that this country wanted the shelter of mountains which left it open to the northern winds from *Hudson's Bay* and the *Frozen Sea*, which destroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables. But, indeed, *New York*, *Virginia*, and other parts less northward, or more defended by mountains, are described as excellent countries; but, upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to seek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is easier to be determined. They conceive themselves to live under the tyranny of most cruel exacting landlords, who have no view further than increasing their rent-rolls. Secondly, You complain of the want
of

of trade, whereof you seem not to know the reason. *Thirdly*, You lament most justly the money spent by absentees in *England*. *Fourthly*, You complain that your linen manufacture declines. *Fifthly*, That your tythe-collectors oppress you. *Sixthly*, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatsoever. *Seventhly*, You are undone for want of silver, and want all other money.

I could easily add some other motives, which, to men of spirit, who desire and expect, and think they deserve the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named to drive them out of this kingdom. But, as these speculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I shall chuse to let them pass unmentioned. Yet I cannot but observe, that my very good and virtuous friend, his Excellency *Burnet* (*O fili, nec tali indigne parente!*) hath not hitherto been able to persuade his vassals, by his oratory in the style of a command, to settle a revenue on his Vice-Royal Person. I have been likewise assured, that, in one of those colonies on the continent, which nature hath so far favoured, as (by the industry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice; the stubbornness of the people, who having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might sell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleased, and seem, by their practice, very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But, to return to my subject: I must confess to you both, that, if one reason of your people's deserting us, be the despair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one syllable to answer; because that would be to hope for what is impossible; and so I have been telling the public these ten years. For, there are three events which must precede any such blessing: *First*, A liberty of trade; *Secondly*, A share of preferments in all kinds, equal to the *British* natives; and, *Thirdly*, A return of those absentees, who take away almost one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the *first* and *second*, there is nothing left us but despair; and

and, for the *third*, it will never happen till the kingdom hath no money to send them, for which, in my own particular, I should not be sorry.

The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years standing. But, as to what you object about the severe clauses relating to improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other side: For the landlords, either by their ignorance or greediness of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter so ill, as we see by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning. For which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants, but beggary and desolation; the cabbins of the *Scotch* themselves, in *Ulster*, being as dirty and miserable as those of the wildest *Irish*. Whereas good firm penal clauses for improvement, with a tolerable easy rent and a reasonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have increased the rents of *Ireland* at least a third part in the intrinsic value.

I am glad to hear you speak with some decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tythes. But you entirely mistake the fact: For I defy the most wicked and most powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppress the meanest farmer in the parish; and I defy the same clergyman to prevent himself from being cheated by the same farmer, whenever that farmer shall be disposed to be knavish or peevish. For, although the *Ulster* tything-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the minister can demand no more than his tenth; and, where the corn much exceeds the small tythes, as, except in some districts, I am told it always doth, he is at the mercy of every stubborn farmer, especially of those whose sect as well as interest incline them to opposition. However, I take it that your people, bent for *America*, do not shew the best part of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint: Yet they are so far wise as not to make the payment of tythes a scruple of conscience, which is too gross for any Protestant dissenter, except a Quaker, to pretend. But, do your people indeed

deed think, that, if tythes were abolished, or delivered into the hands of the landlord, after the blessed manner in the *Scotch* spiritual oeconomy, that the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person, who must be lord of the soil and of the tythe together?

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppression of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its necessary consequence the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom spent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the strong delusion in your people by false allurements from *America*, may be the chief motives of their eagerness after such an expedition. But there is likewise another temptation, which is not of inconsiderable weight; which is, their itch of living in a country where their sect is predominant, and where their eyes and consciences will not be offended by the stumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and spiritual titles.

But I was surprised to find that those calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been sufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reason to complain of oppressive landlords. For, while I was last year in the northern parts, a person of quality, whose estate was let above twenty years ago, and then at a very reasonable rent, some for leases of lives, and some perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchase eleven of these leases at a very inconsiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned to pay but half value. From whence it is manifest that our present miserable condition, and the dismal prospect of worse, with other reasons above assigned, are sufficient to put men upon trying this desperate experiment of changing the scene they are in, although landlords should, by a miracle, become less inhuman.

There is hardly a scheme proposed for improving the trade of this kingdom, which doth not manifestly shew the stupidity and ignorance of the proposer: And I laugh with contempt at those weak wise heads who proceed upon general maxims, or advise us to follow the examples of *Holland* and *England*. These empirics talk by rote, without understanding the constitution of the kingdom; as if a physician, knowing that
exercise

exercise contributed much to health, should prescribe to his patient under a fit of the gout, to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for *Ireland* are very short and plain, To encourage agriculture and home-consumption, and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life. And how few necessities, conveniencies, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and industry? Are those detestable extravagancies of *Flanders*-lace, *English*-cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, *Italian* or *Indian* silks, tea, coffee, chocolate, *China*-ware, and that profusion of wines, by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every season, with a hundred unnecessary sopperies, better known to others than me: Are these, I say, fit for us, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? Is it not the highest indignity to human nature, that men should be such poltrons, as to suffer the kingdom and themselves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride and wantonness of their wives; who, under their present corruptions, seem to be a kind of animal suffered, for our sins, to be sent into the world for the destruction of families, societies, and kingdoms, and whose whole study seems directly to be as expensive as they possibly can, in every useless article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the most pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive; as starlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robustness by mere practice of sloth and luxury; who can play deep several hours after midnight, sleep beyond noon, revel upon *Indian* poisons, and spend the revenue of a moderate family, to adorn a nauseous, unwholesome living carcase? Let those few, who are not concerned in any part of this accusation, suppose it unaid; let the rest take it among them. Gracious God! in his mercy, look down upon a nation so shamefully besotted.

If I am possessed of an hundred pounds a year, and, by some misfortune it sinks to fifty, without a possibility of ever being retrieved: Does it remain a question, in such an exigency, what I am to do? Must not I re-

trench

trench one half in every article of expence? Or, retire to some cheap, distant part of the country, where necessaries are at half value?

Is there any mortal who can shew me, under the circumstances we stand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the desolation caused by absentees, under many other circumstances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or subsist by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmost parsimony, in the manner I have already prescribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreasonable well-meaning people, who are daily pressing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture; which, upon many others, I have so often done in vain. What will it import, that half a score people, in a coffee-house, may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of those few, differ in every sentiment from me? If the farmer be not allowed to sow his corn, if half the little money among us be sent to pay rents to *Irish* absentees, and the rest for foreign luxury, and dress for the women, what will our charitable dispositions avail, when there is nothing left to be given? When, contrary to all custom and example, all necessaries of life are so exorbitant, when money of all kinds was never known to be so scarce? So that gentlemen of no contemptible estates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to shew any bounty to the poor.

A N
A N S W E R
T O S E V E R A L

LETTERS sent me from unknown Hands.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXIX.

I AM very well pleased with the good opinion you express of me, and wish it were any way in my power to answer your expectations for the service of my country. I have carefully read your several schemes and proposals, which you think should be offered to the parliament. In answer, I will assure you, that, in another place, I have known very good proposals rejected with contempt by public assemblies, merely because they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the same fate, especially if handed into the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members, nor have the least interest with one. My printers have been twice prosecuted, to my great expence, on account of discourses I writ for the public service, without the least reflection on parties or persons; and the success I had in those of the Drapier was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true, both those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge, who is now gone to his own place*. But, let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench

It is certain, there are several particulars relating to this kingdom, (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my Drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wished

* Lord Chief-Justice Whitshed.

wished that the Parliament would take under their consideration such as will nowise interfere with *England*, otherwise than to its advantage.

The first I shall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, Gentlemen, about the highways; which, indeed, are almost every where scandalously neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and saver of his money, who, being possessed of some adjacent lands, hath been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them; and hath assured me, that his lands are thereby advanced four or five shillings an acre, by which he gets treble interest. But, generally speaking, all over the kingdom, the roads are deplorable; and, what is more particularly barbarous, there is no sort of provision made for travellers on foot; no, not near this city, except in a very few places, and in a most wretched manner: Whereas the *English* are so particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there an hundred miles with less inconvenience than one mile here. But, since this may be thought too great a reformation, I shall only speak of roads for horses, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one third smaller than *England*; yet, by some natural disadvantages, it would not bear quite the same proportion in value, with the same encouragement. However, it hath so happened, for many years past, that it never arrived to above one eleventh part in point of riches; and, of late, by the continual decrease of trade and increase of absentees, with other circumstances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at least, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our side.

Now, supposing day-labour to be cheaper by one half here than in *England*, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the desolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one eighth part so much as those of *England*, which is a very moderate computation; I do not see why the mending of them would be a greater burthen to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of parliament, in six or seven years of the late King*, for mending long tracts of impassable ways in several countries of *England*, by erecting turnpikes, and receiving passage-money in a manner that every body knows. If what I have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reason against the same practice here, since the necessity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of stone and gravel as easy to be found, and the workmanship at least twice as cheap. Besides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of the nation, by so many perch a year; but with a special care to encourage skill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to those of the meaner sort: But against these, no doubt, the wisdom of the nation may, and will provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deserves the public care, is the ill-management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater mischief to this kingdom than most people seem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed, by those who are esteemed most skilful in such matters, that the red swelling mossy bog, whereof we have so many large tracts in this island, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the skirts, which are covered with a green coat, easily may, being not an accretion, or annual growth of moss, like the other.

Now, the landlords are generally too careless that they suffer their tenants to cut their turf in these skirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly lost a considerable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greatest part of the mischief. For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural soil, yet, by continuing large, deep, straight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times, as low as the channel or gravel, would become a secure summer-pasture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickins, birch, and other trees proper for such a soil, and the canals be convenient
for

* King George I.

for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon sled-cars with great expence, difficulty, and loss of time, by reason of the many turf-pits scattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confess, to me a matter of the greatest vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be so absurd as to suffer such havock to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of forest-trees are, I am told, extremely defective; which, with great submission, must have been owing to a defect of skill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the West-south-west wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-shelter. I have not, indeed, read all the acts; but, from inquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And, as to the effects of these laws, I have not seen the least, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemens houses, and even those with very little skill or success. In all the rest, the hedges generally miscarry, as well as the larger slender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common skill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of ash, a few feet asunder, which in seven years would make the best kind of hop-poles, and grow in the same, or less time, to a second crop from their roots.

It would likewise be of great use and beauty in our desert scenes, to oblige all tenants and cottagers to plant ash or elm before their cabbins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not, or ought not to come to destroy them.

The common objections against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native *Irish*, might be easily answered, by shewing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life: But my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a

dog or horse, I have often seen those two animals to be civilized by rewards, at least as much as by punishments.

It would be a noble achievement to abolish the *Irish* language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only *English* on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: Yet I am wholly deceived if this might not be effectually done in less than half an age, and at a very trifling expence; for such I look upon a tax to be, of only six thousand pounds a year, to accomplish so great a work. This would, in a great measure, civilize the most barbarous among them, reconcile them to our customs and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be established. The method is plain and simple; and, although I am too desponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to a degree, that it is almost impossible for a country gentleman to find a servant of human capacity, or the least tincture of natural honesty; or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in *England*, continuing to carry thither so many wealthy families, the consequences thereof, together with the utter loss of all trade, except what is detrimental, which hath forced such great numbers of weavers and others to seek their bread in foreign countries, the unhappy practice of stocking such vast quantities of land with sheep and other cattle, which reduceth twenty families to one: These events, I say, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for several years past. I should heartily wish, therefore, under this miserable dearth of money, that those who are most concerned would think it advisable to save a hundred thousand pounds a year, which is now sent out of this kingdom to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the
politics

politics of all wise nations, than that of encouraging agriculture. And, therefore, to what kind of wisdom a practice so directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what must be the issue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do?

If it should be thought proper by wiser heads, that his Majesty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own use; I believe no good subject will be under the least apprehension that such a request could meet with refusal, or the least delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil society under the proper inspection of its prince, or legislature, to coin money of all usual metals for its own occasions. Every petty Prince in *Germany*, vassal to the Emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have seen in this kingdom several silver pieces, with the inscription of *Civitas Waterford, Droghedagh*, and other towns.

P O E M S

ON SEVERAL

O C C A S I O N S.

P O E M S

ON SEVERAL

O C C A S I O N S.

My heart is full of love
And I am glad to see
The smiling face of my dear friend
Who is so kind and true.

The sun is shining bright
And the birds are singing
The flowers are blooming
And the world is so bright.

The night is so dark and cold
And the stars are so bright
The moon is so full and round
And the world is so bright.

Printed by J. A. Thomas, 1840, in the County of K. Bury.

P O E M S

ON REVERAL

O C C A S I O N S

P O E M S
ON SEVERAL
O C C A S I O N S.
*B A L L Y S P E L L I N**.

By Dr *SHERIDAN*.

AL L you that would refine your blood,
As pure as fam'd *Llewellyn*,
By waters clear, come ev'ry year,
To drink at *Ballyspellin*.

Tho' pox or itch, your skins enrich
With rubies past the telling,
'Twill clear your skin before you've been
A month at *Ballyspellin*.

If lady's cheek be green as leek
When she comes from her dwelling,
The kindling rose withing it glows
When she's at *Ballyspellin*.

The footy brown, who comes from town,
Grows here as fair as *Helen*;
Then back she goes to kill the beaux
By dint of *Ballyspellin*.

Our ladies are as fresh and fair
As *Ros*s, or bright *Dunkelling*:

And

* A famous spaw in the County of *Kilkenny*.

And *Mars* might make a fair mistake,
Were he at *Ballyspellin*.

We men submit as they think fit,
And here is no rebelling;
The reason's plain, the ladies reign,
They're queens at *Ballyspellin*.

By matchless charms, unconquer'd arms,
They have the power of quelling
Such desp'rate foes as dare oppose
Their pow'r at *Ballyspellin*.

Cold water turns to fire, and burns,
I know, because I fell in
A stream which came from one bright dame
Who drank at *Ballyspellin*.

Fine beaux advance, equipt for dance,
And bring their *Anne* or *Nell* in
With so much grace, I'm sure no place
Can vye with *Ballyspellin*.

No politics, no subtle tricks,
No man his country selling,
We eat, we drink, we never think
Of these at *Ballyspellin*.

The troubled mind, the puffed with wind,
Do all come here *Pell-Mell* in;
And, they are sure, to work their cure
By drinking *Ballyspellin*.

If dropsy fills you to the gills,
From chin to toe tho' swelling,
Pour in, pour out, you cannot doubt
A cure at *Ballyspellin*.

Death

Death throws no darts through all these parts,
 No sextons here are knelling;
 Come, judge and try, you'll never die,
 But *live* at *Ballyspellin*:

Except you feel darts tipt with steel,
 Which here are ev'ry belle in;
 When from their eyes sweet ruin flies,
 We die at *Ballyspellin*.

Good chear, sweet air, much joy, no care,
 Your sight, your taste, your smelling,
 Your ears, your touch, transporteth much
 Each day at *Ballyspellin*.

Within this ground we all sleep sound,
 No noisy dogs a yelling;
 Except you wake, for *Celia's* sake,
 All night at *Ballyspellin*.

Here all you see, both he and she,
 No lady keeps her cell in;
 But all partake the mirth we make
 Who drink at *Ballyspellin*.

My rhimes are gone, I think I've none,
 Unless I should bring hell in;
 But since I'm here to heav'n so near,
 I can't at *Ballyspellin*.

The A N S W E R.

By Dr S W I E T.

D A R E you dispute you sawcy brute ?
 And think there's no rebelling,
 Your scurvy lays, and senseless praise,
 You give to *Ballyspellin* ?

Howe'er you bounce, I here pronounce,
 Your med'cine is repelling ;
 Your water's mud, and scours the blood,
 When drank at *Ballyspellin*.

Those pocky drabs, to cure their scabs,
 You thither are compelling ;
 Will back be sent, worse than they went,
 From nasty *Ballyspellin*.

Llewellyn why ? As well may I
 Name honest doctor *Pellin* ;
 So hard sometimes, you tug for rhimes
 To bring in *Ballyspellin*.

No subject fit to try your wit,
 When you went colonelling ;
 But dull intrigues 'twixt jades and teagues,
 That met at *Ballyspellin*.

Our lasses fair, say what you dare,
 Who sowing make with shelling,
 At *Market-Hill* more beaux can kill,
 Than yours at *Ballyspellin*.

Wou'd

Would I was whipt, when *Sheelah* stript,
To wash herself our well in ;
A bum so white, ne'er came in fight,
At paultry *Ballyspellin*.

Your mawkins there, smocks *bempen* wear
Of *Holland*, not an-ell in,
No, not a rag, what e'er you brag,
Is found at *Ballyspellin*.

But *Tom* will prate at any rate,
All other nymphs expelling :
Because he gets a few *Grisets*,
At lousy *Ballyspellin*.

There's bony *Jane* in yonder lane,
Just o'er against the *Bell Inn* ;
Where can you meet a lass so sweet,
Round all your *Ballyspellin*.

We have a girl, deserves an earl,
She came from *Enniskillin* ;
So fair so young, no such among
The belles at *Ballyspellin*.

How would you stare, to see her there,
The foggy mist dispelling ;
That cloud the brows, of every blowse
Who lives at *Ballyspellin*.

Now as I live, I would not give
A *Stiwer* for a *Skellin*,
To towse and kiss the fairest miss
That leaks at *Ballyspellin*.

Who e'er will raise such lies as these,
 Deserves a good cudgelling:
 Who falsely boasts of belles and toasts,
 At dirty *Ballyspellin*.

My rhimes are gone, to all but one,
 Which is, our trees are felling.
 As proper quite, as those you write,
 To force in *Ballyspellin*.

A R I D D L E. By Dr DELANY.

Inscribed to the Lady CARTERET.

I Reach all things near me, and far off to boot,
 Without stretching a finger, or stirring a foot.
 I take them all in too, to add to your wonder;
 Tho' many and various, and large and asunder.
 Without jostling or crowding they pass side by side,
 Thro' a wonderful wicket, not half an inch wide:
 Then I lodge them at ease in a very large store,
 Of no breadth, or length, with a thousand things more.
 All this I can do without witchcraft or charm,
 Tho' sometimes they say I bewitch, and do harm;
 Tho' cold I inflame, and tho' quiet invade,
 And nothing can shield from my spell but a shade.
 A thief that has robb'd you, or done you disgrace,
 In magical mirror I'll shew you his face:
 Nay, if you'll believe what the poets have said,
 They'll tell you I kill, and can call back the dead.
 Like conjurers safe in my circle I dwell,
 I love to look black too, it heightens my spell;
 Tho' my magic is mighty in every Hue,
 Who see all my power must see it in Y O U.

The same answered by Dr SWIFT.

WITH half an Eye
Your *Riddle* I spy.

I observe your wicket
Hemm'd in by a thicket,
And whatever passes
Is strain'd thro' glasses.
You say it is quiet,
I flatly deny it:
It wanders about,
Without stirring out,
No passion so weak
But gives it a tweak;
Love, joy, and devotion
Set it always in motion.
And as for the tragic
Effects of his magic,
Which you say it can kill,
Or revive at its will,
The dead are all found
And revive above ground,
After all you have writ,
It cannot be wit.
Which plainly does follow,
Since it flies from *Appollo*.
Its cowardice such,
It cries at a touch,
'Tis a perfect milkfop,
Grows drunk with a drop.
Another great fault,
It cannot bear salt;
And a hair can disarm
It of every charm.

A R I D D L E. By Dr SWIFT, to my
Lady C A R T E R E T.

FROM *India's* burning clime I'm brought,
With cooling gales like zephyrs fraught.
Not *Iris* when she paints the sky,
Can shew more different hue than I;
Nor can she change her form so fast,
I'm now a sail and now a mast.
I here am red, and there am green,
A beggar there, and here a queen.
I sometimes live in house of hair,
And oft in hand of lady fair.
I please the young, I grace the old,
And am at once both hot and cold.
Say what I am then if you can,
And find the rhyme, and you're the man.

Answered by Dr SHERIDAN.

YOUR house of hair and lady's hand,
At first did put me to a stand.
I have it now, — 'tis plain enough,
Your hairy bus'ness is a *Muff*.
Your engine fraught with cooling gales,
At once so like your mast and sails.
And for the rhyme to *you're the man*,
What fits it better than a *fan*.

The L O G I C I A N S refuted.

LOGICIANS have but ill defin'd
As rational, the human kind;
Reason, they say, belongs to man,
But let them prove it, if they can.

Wife

Wife *Aristotle* and *Smigleſius*,
 By ratiocinations ſpecious,
 Have ſtrove to prove with great preciſion,
 With definition and diviſion,
Homo eſt ratione præditum ;
 But, for my ſoul, I cannot credit 'em.
 And muſt, in ſpite of them, maintain,
 That man and all his ways are vain ;
 And that this boated lord of nature
 Is both a weak and erring creature.
 That inſtinct is a ſurer guide
 Than reaſon-boasting mortals pride ;
 And, that brute beaſts are far before 'em,
Deus eſt anima brutorum.
 Whoever knew an honeſt brute,
 At law his neighbour proſecute.
 Bring action for aſſault and battery,
 Or friend beguile with lies and flattery.
 O'er plains they ramble unconfin'd,
 No politics diſturb their mind ;
 They eat their meals, and take their ſport,
 Nor know who's in or out at court.
 They never to the levee go
 To treat, as deareſt friend, a foe :
 They never importune his grace,
 Nor ever cinge to men in place ;
 Nor undertake a dirty job,
 Nor draw the quill to write for *Bob*.
 Fraught with inveſtive they ne'er go
 To folks at *Pater-Noſter-Row* :
 No judges, fiddlers, dancing maſters,
 No pick-pockets, or poet-aſters,
 Are known to honeſt quadrupeds :
 No ſingle brute his fellows leads.
 Brutes never meet in bloody fray,
 Nor cut each others throats for pay.
 Of beaſts, it is confeſs'd, the ape
 Comes neareſt us in human ſhape,

Like

Like man he imitates each fashion,
 And malice is his ruling passion :
 But, both in malice and grimaces,
 A courtier any ape surpasses.
 Behold him humbly cringing wait
 Upon the minister of state ;
 View him soon after to inferiors
 Aping the conduct of superiors :
 He promises with equal air,
 And to perform takes equal care.
 He in his turn finds imitators,
 At court the porters, lacqueys, waiters,
 Their masters' manners still contract,
 And footmen, lords and dukes can act.
 Thus, at the court, both great and small
 Behave alike, for all ape all.

O D E O N S C I E N C E .

O H heav'nly born ! in deepest cells
 If fairest science ever dwells
 Beneath the mossy cave ;
 Indulge the verdure of the woods :
 With azure beauty gild the floods,
 And flow'ry carpets lave ;
 For melancholy ever reigns
 Delighted in the sylvan scenes
 With scientific light ;
 While *Dian* huntress of the vales
 Seeks lulling sounds and fanning gales,
 Tho' rapt from mortal fight.
 Yet, goddesses yet, the way explore
 With magic rites and heathen lore
 Obstructed and depress'd :
 'Till wisdom gave the sacred nine,
 Untaught, not uninspired to shine,
 By reason's power redress'd.

When

When *Solon* and *Lycurgus* taught,
 To moralize the human thought
 Of mad opinion's maze,
 To erring zeal they gave new laws.
 Thy charms, O liberty, the cause
 That blends congenial rays.
 Bid bright *Astræa* gild the morn,
 Or bid a hundred suns be born,
 To hecatomb the year;
 Without thy aid in vain the poles:
 In vain the Zodiac system rolls:
 In vain the lunar sphere.
 Come, fairest princess of the throng,
 Bring sweet philosophy along
 In metaphysic dreams;
 While raptur'd bards no more behold
 A vernal age of purer gold
 In Heliconian streams.
 Drive thralldom with malignant hand,
 To curse some other destin'd land
 By folly led astray:
Ierne bear on azure wing;
 Energic let her soar, and sing
 Thy universal sway.
 So when *Amphion* bade the lyre
 To more majestic sound aspire,
 Behold the madding throng,
 In wonder and oblivion drown'd,
 To sculpture turn'd by magic sound,
 And petrifying song.

The PUPPET-SHOW.

THE life of man to represent,
 And turn it all to ridicule,
 Wit did a *puppet-show* invent,
 Where the chief actor is a fool.

The

The gods of old were logs of wood,
 And worship was to *puppets* paid,
 In antic dress the idol stood,
 And priests and people bow'd the head.

No wonder then, if art began,
 The simple votaries to frame,
 To shape in *timber* foolish man,
 And consecrate the *block* to fame.

From hence poetic fancy learn'd
 That trees might rise from human forms,
 The body to a trunk be turn'd,
 And branches issue from the arms.

Thus *Dædalus* and *Ovid* too,
 That man's a blockhead have confest,
Powel and *Stretch* † the hint pursue,
 Life is the farce, the world a jest.

The same great truth *South-Sea* ‡ hath prov'd
 On that fam'd theatre, the *ally*,
 Where thousands by directors mov'd
 Are now sad monuments of folly.

What *Momus* was of old to *Jove*
 The same *Harlequin* is now;
 The former was *Buffoon* above
 The latter is a *Punch* below.

This fleeting scene is but a stage,
 Where various images appear,
 In different parts of youth and age
 Alike the prince and peasant share.

And

† Two puppet-show men.

‡ See the poem on the *South-Sea* project, p. 130.

Some draw our eyes by being great,
False pomp conceals mere wood within,
And legislators rang'd in state
Are oft but wisdom in machine.

A stock may chance to wear a crown,
And timber as a lord take place,
A statue may put on a frown
And cheat us with a thinking face.

Others are blindly led away,
And made to act for ends unknown,
By the mere spring of wires they play
And speak in language not their own.

Too oft, alas! a scolding wife
Usurps a jolly fellow's throne,
And many drink the cup of life,
Mix'd and embitter'd by a *Joan*.

In short, whatever men pursue
Of pleasure, folly, war, or love;
This mimic-race brings all to view,
Alike they dress, they talk, they move.

Go on, great *Stretch*, with artful hand,
Mortals to please and to deride,
And when death breaks thy vital band,
Thou shalt put on a *puppet's* pride.

Thou shalt in puny wood be shewn,
Thy image shall preserve thy fame,
Ages to come thy worth shall own,
Point at thy limbs, and tell thy name.

Tell *Tom* he draws a *Farce* in vain,
Before he looks in nature's glass,
Puns cannot form a witty scene,
Nor *Pedantry* for humour pass.

To

To make men act as senseless wood,
 And chatter in a mystic strain,
 Is a mere force on flesh and blood,
 And shews some error in the brain.

He that would thus refine on thee,
 And turn thy stage into a school,
 The jest of *Punch* will ever be,
 And stand confest the greater fool.

On PSYCHE*.

AT two afternoon for our *Psyche* inquire,
 Her tea-kettle's on, and her smock at the fire;
 So loitering, so active; so busy, so idle,
 Which hath she most need of, a spur or a bridle?
 Thus, a greyhound out-runs the whole pack in a race,
 Yet would rather be hang'd than he'd leave a warm place.
 She gives you such plenty, it puts you in pain;
 But ever with prudence takes care of the main.
 To please you, she knows how to chuse a nice bit;
 For her taste is almost as refin'd as her wit.
 To oblige a good friend, she will trace ev'ry market,
 It would do your heart good, to see how she will cark it.
 Yet beware of her arts, for it plainly appears,
 She saves half her victuals, by feeding your ears.

To Mrs HOUGHTON of *Bormont* upon
 praising her husband to Dr SWIFT.

YOU always are making a god of your spouse,
 But this neither reason nor conscience allows;
 Perhaps you will say, 'tis in gratitude due,
 And you adore him, because he adores you.
 Your argument's weak, and so you will find,
 For you, by this rule, must adore all mankind.

* Mrs SICAN, a very ingenious well-bred lady, wife to Mr
 JOHN SICAN, an eminent Grocer in *Dublin*.

On the collar of Mrs DINGLEY's lap-dog.

PRAY steal me not, I'm Mrs *Dingley's*,
Whose heart in this four-footed thing lies.

A left-handed letter to Dr SHERIDAN*.

S I R,

DELANY reports it, and he has a shrewd tongue,
That we both are the part of the clown and
cow-dung;

We lye cramming ourselves, and are ready to burst,
Yet still are no wiser than we were at first.

Pudet hæc opprobria, I freely must tell ye,
Et diu potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

Tho' DELANY advis'd you to plague me no longer,
You reply and rejoin like HOADLY of *Bangor*.

I must now, at one sitting, pay off my old score:

How many to answer? One, two, three, four.

But because the three former are long ago past,

I shall, for method sake, begin with the last.

You treat me like a boy that knocks down his foe,

Who, ere t'other gets up, demands the rising blow.

Yet I know a young rogue, that thrown flat on the field,

Would, as he lay under, cry out, Sirrah, yield:

So, the *French*, when our generals soundly did pay 'em,

Went triumphant to church, and sang stoutly *Te Deum*:

So the famous TOM LEIGH, when quite run a-ground,

Comes off by out-laughing the company round.

In ev'ry vile pamphlet you'll read the same fancies,

Having thus overthrown all our further advances.

My offers of peace you ill understood,

Friend SHERIDAN, when will you know your own good?

VOL. X.

C c

'Twas

* All the humour of this poem is lost, by the impossibility of printing it left-handed, as it was wrote.

'Twas to teach you in moderate language your duty ;
 For, were you a dog, I could not be rude t'ye.
 As a good quiet soul, who no mischief intends
 To a quarrelsome fellow, cries, Let us be friends.
 But we like ANTÆUS and HERCULES fight,
 The oft'ner you fall, the oft'ner you write ;
 And I'll use you as he did that overgrown clown,
 I'll first take you up, and then take you down :
 And, 'tis your own case, for you never can wound
 The worst dunce in your school, 'till he's heav'd from
 the ground.

I beg your pardon for using my left hand, but I was in
 great haste, and the other hand was employed at the
 same time in writing some letters of business.

September 20. 1718.

I will send you the rest when I have leisure ; but pray
 come to dinner with the company you met here last.

Upon stealing a CROWN when the DEAN
 was asleep.

By Dr SHERIDAN.

DEAR dean, since you in sleepy wise
 Have op'd your mouth, and clos'd your eyes.
 Like Ghost I glide along your floor,
 And softly shut the parlour door :
 For should I break your sweet repose,
 Who knows what money you might lose ?
 Since oftentimes it has been found,
 A dream has giv'n ten thousand pound.
 Then sleep, my friend, dear dean, sleep on,
 And all you get shall be your own ;
 Provided you to this agree,
 That all you lose belongs to me.

The

The D E A N ' s Answer.

S O about twelve at night, the punk
 Steals from the cully when he's drunk;
 Nor is contented with a treat,
 Without her privilege to cheat.
 Nor can I the least diff'rence find,
 But that you left no clap behind.
 But jest apart, restore, you capon ye,
 My twelve thirteens * and six-pence ha'penny.
 To eat my meat, and drink my medlicot,
 And then to give me such a deadly cut —
 But 'tis observ'd, that men in gowns
 Are most inclin'd to plunder *crowns*.
 Could you but *change* a crown as easy
 As you can steal one, how 'twould please ye!
 I thought the lady † at St Cath'rine's
 Knew how to set you better patterns;
 For this I will not dine with *Agmondisham* ‡,
 And for his victuals let a ragman dish 'em.

Saturday Night

On the Little House by the Church-yard of
Castleknock.

W H O E V E R pleaseth to inquire,
 Why yonder steeple wants a spire,
 The grey old fellow, poet *Joe* ||,
 The philosophic cause will shew.

Once, on a time, a western blast,
 At least twelve inches overcast,

C c 2

Reckoning

* An *English* shilling passeth for thirteen pence in *Ireland*.

† Lady *Montcashel*.

‡ *Agmondisham Vesey*, Esq; a very worthy gentleman for whom the author had a great esteem.

|| Mr BEAMONT, of *Trim*.

Reckoning roof, weather cock and all,
Which came with a prodigious fall :
And tumbling topsy-turvy round,
Light with its bottom on the ground.

For by the laws of gravitation,
It fell into its proper station.

This is the little strutting pile,
You see just by the church-yard stile ;
The walls in tumbling gave a knock,
And thus the steeple got a shock ;
From whence the neighbouring farmer calls
The steeple, knock ; the vicar *walls* *.

The vicar once a week creeps in,
Sits with his knees up to his chin ;
Here conns his notes and takes a whet,
Till the small ragged flock is met.

A traveller, who by did pass,
Observ'd the roof behind the grass ;
On tip-toe stood, and rear'd his snout,
And saw the parson creeping out ;
Was much surpriz'd to see a crow
Venture to build his nest so low.

A school-boy ran unto't and thought,
The crib was down the blackbird caught.
A third, who lost his way by night,
Was forc'd, for safety, to alight,
And stepping o'er the fabric roof,
His horse had like to spoil his hoof.

Warburton took it in his noddle,
This building was design'd a model,

* Rev. Archdeacon WALLS.

Or,

Or, of a pigeon-house, or oven,
 To bake one loaf, and keep one dove in.
 Then Mrs *Johnson* * gave her verdict,
 And every one was pleas'd that heard it :
 All that you make this stir about,
 Is but a still without a spout.
 The Rev'rend Dr *Raymond* † guess'd,
 More probably than all the rest ;
 He said, but that it wanted room,
 It might have been a pigmy's tomb.

The doctor's family came by,
 And little mis's began to cry ;
 Give me that house in my own hand ;
 Then madam bid the chariot stand,
 Call'd to the clerk in manner mild,
 Pray reach that thing, here, to the child,
 That thing, I mean, among the kale,
 And here's to buy a pot of ale.

The clerk said to her in a heat,
 What ? sell my master's country seat ?
 Where he comes ev'ry week from town ;
 He would not sell it for a crown.
 Poh ! fellow keep not such a pother,
 In half an hour thou'lt build another.

Says *Nancy* ‡, I can make for mis's,
 A finer house ten times than this ;
 The dean will give me willow-sticks,
 And *Joe* my apron full of bricks.

C c 3

A long

* A friend of the author's.

† Minister of *Trim*.

‡ The waiting woman.

Probatur aliter.

A Long-ear'd beast, and a field-house for cattle,
Among the cattle does often rattle.

A long-ear'd beast, a bird that prates,
The bridegroom's first gift to their mates,
Is by all pious christians thought,
In clergymen the greatest fault.

A long-ear'd beast, and woman of *Endor*,
If your wife be a scold that will mend her.

With a long-ear'd beast, and med'cines use,
Cooks make their fool look tight and spruce.

A long-ear'd beast, and holy fable,
Strengthens the shoes of half the rabble.

A long-ear'd beast, and *Rhenish* wine,
Lies in the lap of ladies fine.

A long-ear'd beast and *Flanders* college,
Is Dr *T*——— to my knowledge.

A long-ear'd beast, and building knight;
Censorious people do in spight.

A long-ear'd beast, and bird of night,
We finners are too apt to flight.

A long-ear'd beast, a shameful vermin,
A judge will eat, tho' clad in ermin.

A long-ear'd beast, and *Irish* cart,
Can leave a mark and give a smart.

A long-ear'd beast in mud to lie,
No bird in air so swift can fly.

A long-ear'd beast and a sputt'ring old whig,
I wish he were in it and dancing a jig.

A long-ear'd beast, and liquor to write,
Is a damnable smell both morning and night.

A long-ear'd beast, and the child of a sheep,
At whist they will make a desperate sweep.

A long-ear'd beast, and 'till midnight you stay,
Will cover a house much better than clay.

A long-

A long-ear'd beast, and the drink you love best,
You call him a sloven in earnest or jest.

A long-ear'd beast, and the sixteenth letter,
I'd not look at all, unless I look'd better.

A long-ear'd beast give me, and eggs unsound,
Or else I will not ride one inch of ground.

A long-ear'd beast, another name for jeer,
To ladies skins there is nothing comes so near.

A long-ear'd beast, and kind noise of a cat,
Is useful in journies take notice of that.

A long-ear'd beast, and what seasons your beef,
On such an occasion the law gives relief.

A long-ear'd beast, a thing that force must drive in,
Bears up his house, that's of his own contriving.

To a friend who had been much abused in
many different libels.

THE greatest monarch may be stabb'd by night,
And fortune help the murd'rer in his flight ;

The vilest ruffian may commit a rape,
Yet safe from injured innocence escape ;

And calumny, by working under ground,
Can, unreveng'd, the greatest merit wound ;

What's to be done ? Shall wit and learning chuse
To live obscure, and have no fame to lose ?

By censure frighted out of honour's road,
Nor dare to use the gifts by heaven bestow'd ;

Or fearless enter in thro' virtue's gate,
And buy distinction at the dearest rate.

ON NOISY TOM.

— *Qui promittit, cives, urbem, sibi curæ,
Imperium fore, et Italiam, et delubra Deorum ;
Quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,*

Omnes

Omnes mortales curare, et quærere cogit.

Tunc Syri, Damæ, aut Dionysi filius audes

Dejicere e saxo cives, aut tradere Cadmo ?

HOR. Lib. i. Sat. vi. ver. 34- 39

Translated literally.

Whoever promiseth (in the senate) to take the city (of Rome) and the citizens under his care, nay, the whole empire, *Italy*, and the temples of the gods ; such a man compelleth all mortals curiously to inquire from what father he sprung, and whether his mother were some obscure dishonourable female. (The people would cry out) What, thou, the son of *Cyrus**, or *Damas**, or *Dionysus**, darest thou cast our citizens down the *Tarpeian* rock, or deliver them prisoners to *Cadmus†*.

P A R A P H R A S E D.

IF noisy *T*— (1) should in the S-n-te prate,
That he would answer both for church and state ;
And, further to demonstrate his affection,
Would take the kingdom into his protection :
All mortals must be curious to inquire,
Who could this coxcomb be, and who his fire ?
What ! thou the spawn of him (2) who sham'd our isle,
That traitor, assassin, informer vile.
Though by the female side (3) you proudly bring,
To mend your breed, the murderer of a king ;
What was thy grandfire (4) but a mountaineer,
Who held a cabbin for ten groats a year ;

Whose

* Usual names of slaves at Rome.

† *Cadmus* was a lictor, an officer who seized on criminals, like a constable, or messenger of the H---- of C-----.

(1) Sir *T-----P-----*.

(2) The father of Sir *T-----*, * * * *, who engaged in a plot to murder King *William III.* but, to avoid being hanged, turned informer against his associates, for which he was rewarded with a good estate, and made a baronet.

(3) C--d--g--n's family, &c.

(4) A poor thieving cottager under Mr *Moore*, condemned at *Clonmell* assizes to be hanged for stealing cows.

Whose master, *Moore* (5) preserved him from the halter,

For stealing cows, nor could he read the Psalter?
Durst thou, ungrateful, from the S-n-te chace
Thy founder's grandson (6) and usurp his place?
Just heaven! to see the dunghill dastard brood
Survive in thee, and make the proverb good (7).
Then vote a worthy citizen (8) to jail,
In spite to justice, and refuse his bail.

It is well known, that queen *Anne* had nominated Dr *Swift* to an *English* bishopric, which was opposed by Dr *Sharp*, archbishop of *York*, and the dutchess of *Somerset*, who had prevailed on his grace to go with her to the queen to lay aside the nomination, which her majesty refused; but, the dutchess falling on her knees, and shewing the following prophecy to majesty, the bishopric was given to another. See the poem, *The Author on himself*, vol. vii. p. 164.

The *W-df-r* Prophecy.

About three months ago at *W-df-r*, a poor knight's widow was buried in the *Cloysters*. In digging the grave, the sexton struck against a small leaden coffer, about half a foot in length, and four inches wide. The poor man expecting he had discovered a treasure, opened it with some difficulty; but found only a small parchment, rolled up very fast, put into a leather case; which case was tied at the top, and sealed with a

St

(5) The grandfather of *Guy Moore*, Esq; who procured him a pardon.

(6) *Guy Moore* was fairly elected member of P----- for *Clonmell*: but Sir T----- depending upon his interest with a certain party then prevailing, and since known by the title of *Parson-bunters*, petitioned the house against him, out of which he was turned upon pretence of bribery, which the paying of his lawful debts was then voted to be.

(7) Save a thief from the gallows, and he will cut your throat.

(8) Mr *G— F—*, a very honest and eminent printer in *Dublin*, who was voted to *Newgate* upon a ridiculous complaint of one serjeant *Bettesworth*.

St George, the impression on black wax, very rude and Gothic. The parchment was carried to a gentleman of learning, who found in it the following lines, written in a black old *English* letter, and in the orthography of the age, which seems to be about two hundred years ago. I made a shift to obtain a copy of it; but the transcriber, I find, hath in many parts altered the spelling to the modern way. The original, as I am informed, is now in the hands of the ingenious Dr W——, F. R. S. where, I suppose, the curious will not be refused the satisfaction of seeing it.

The lines seem to be a sort of prophecy, and written in verse, as old prophecies usually are, but in a very hobbling kind of measure. Their meaning is very dark, if it be any at all: of which the learned reader can judge better than I: however it be, several persons were of opinion, that they deserved to be published, both as they discover somewhat of the genius of a former age, and may be an amusement to the present.

W H E N a holy black *Swede* (a), the son of *Bob*,
 With a *saint* at his chin, and a *seal* at his fob:
 Shall not see one (b) New-year's-day in that year,
 Then let old *England* make good chear:
Windſor and *Briſtow* then ſhall be
 Joined together in the *Low-Countree*.
 Then ſhall the tall black (c) *Deventry Bird*
 Speak againſt peace right many a word;
 And ſome ſhall admire his conyng wit,
 For many good *groats* his tongue ſhall ſlit.
 But ſpight of the *Harpy* (d) that *crawls on all four*,
 There ſhall be peace, pardie, and war no more.

But

(a) Dr ROBINSON, biſhop of *Briſtol*, was one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of *Utrecht*.

(b) There was then eleven days difference between the Old and New Stile, which latter did not take place in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, until it was introduced by act of parliament, to commence Sept. 2. 1752, when eleven days were omitted, and the next day was called Sept. 14.

(c) Earl of NOTTINGHAM.

(d) Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

But *England*, must cry alack and well-a-day,
 If the *Stick* be taken from the *dead Sea*.
 And dear *England*, if ought I understond,
 Beware of *Carrots* from *Northumberland* (1).
Carrots sown *Tbyrne* (2) a deep root may get,
 If so be they are in *Sommer set* :
 Their (3) *Conyngs* mark thou, for I have been told,
 They *assaffine* when young, and *poison* when old.
 Root out these *Carrots*, O thou (4), whose name,
 Is backwards and forwards always the same ;
 And keep close to thee always that *name*,
 Which (5) backwards and forwards is almost the same.
 And *England* wouldst thou be happy still,
 Bury those *Carrots* under a (6) *Hill*.

VERSES

(1) Lady *Elizabeth Percy*, sole daughter and heir of *Joceline Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, was married to *Charles Seymore*, Duke of *Somerset*.

(2) *Thomas Tbyrne*, Esq; a gentleman of very great estate, who was courting the above lady, after the death of her first husband *Henry Cavendish*, Earl of *Ogle*, only son to *Henry*, Duke of *Newcastle*, who died before he was of age to cohabit with her ; being set up in the *Hay-Market*, *London*, was murdered by Count *Coningmark*, a *Polish* nobleman, (who paid his addresses to this lady, but was refused) and two *ruffians*, who shot Mr *Tbyrne* in his coach. The Count made his escape, but the others were hanged. There is a monument in *Westminster-Abbey*, erected to the memory of Mr *Tbyrne*, with some hieroglyphic figures, representing the manner of his murder.

(3) Count *Coningmark*.

(4) *Anna Regina*.

(5) Lady *Masbam*.

(6) Lady *Masbam's* maiden name was *Hill*.

VERSES occasioned by the sudden drying up of ST PATRICK'S WELL near Trinity College, *Dublin*, in 1726.

BY holy zeal inspir'd, and led by fame (1),
To thee, once fav'rite isle, with joy I came;
What time the *Goth*, the *Vandal*, and the *Hun*,
Had my own native *Italy* (2) o'er run.
Ierne, to the world's remotest parts,
Renown'd for valour (3), policy, and arts.

Hither from *Colchos* (4), with the fleecy ore,
Jason arriv'd two thousand years before.

Thee,

(1) *Festus Avienus* flourished in 370. See his poem *De oris Maritimis*, where he uses this expression concerning *Ireland*, "Insula sacra et sic Insulam dixere prisca; eamque late gens Hibernorum colit."

(2) *Italy* was not properly the native place of *St Patrick*, but the place of his education; and whence he received his mission; and because he had his new birth there, hence, by poetical licence, and by scripture figure, our author calls that country his native *Italy*.

(3) *Julius Sotinus*, who lived about the time of *Tacitus*, in the year 80, Chap. 21 speaking of the *Irish* as a warlike nation, says, that the wives in *Ireland*, when delivered of a son, give the child its first food off the point of their husband's sword. "Puerpera, si quando marem edidit, primos Cibos Gladio imponit mariti, inque os Parvuli summo mucrone auspiciis alimentorum leviter infert et gentilibus votis optat, non aliter quam in bello et inter arma mortem oppetat." Again, "Præcipua viris gloria est in armorum tutela."

Polydore Vergil says, they were distinguished for their skill in music. "Hiberni sunt musicæ peritissimi." So *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who was preceptor to King *John*, in his *Topographia Hiberniæ*, Chap. 11. "In musiciis solum, præ omni natione quam vidimus, incomparabiliter est instructa gens hæc."

(4) *Orpheus*, or the antient author of the *Greek* poem on the *Argonautic* expedition, whoever he be, says, that *Jason*, who manned the ship *Argos* at *Theffaly*, sailed to *Ireland*. And *Adrianus Junius* says the same thing in these lines,

Illa ego sum Graiis, olim glaciales Ierne
Dicta, et Jasonæ Puppis bene cognita nautis.

Thee (5) happy island, *Pallas* call'd her own,
 When haughty *Britain* was a land unknown.
 From thee, with pride, the *Caledonians* (6) traced
 The glorious founder of their kingly race :
 Thy martial sons, whom now they dare despise,
 Did once their land subdue and civilize :
 Their dress, their language, and the *Scottish* name,
 Confess the soil from whence the victors came.
 Well may they boast that antient blood, which runs
 Within their veins, who are thy younger sons,
 A conquest and a colony from thee,
 The mother-kingdom left her children free ;
 From thee no mark of slavery they felt,
 Not so with thee thy base invaders dealt ;
 Invited here to 'vengeful *Morough's* aid (7).

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D d

Those

(5) *Tacitus*, in the life of *Julius Agricola* says, that the harbours of *Ireland*, on account of their commerce, were better known to the trading part of the world, than those of *Britain*. "Solum, cœlumque, et ingenia cultusque hominum, haud multum a Britannia differunt ; melius aditus, portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti."

(6) *Fordun*, in his *Scoti-Chronicon*, *Heſtor Boethius*, *Buchanan*, and all the *Scotch* historians agree, that *Fergus*, son of *Ferquard* King of *Ireland*, was the first King of *Scotland*, which country he subdued. That he began to reign 330 years before the Christian æra, and in returning to visit his native country, was shipwrecked on those rocks in the county of *Antrim*, which from that accident have been since named *Carrickfergus*. His descendants reigned after him in *Scotland* ; for the crown was settled on him and his lineal successors. See the list of the Kings of *Scotland* in *Heſtor Boethius* and *George Buchanan*, which begins thus : "1. *Fergusius primus* Scotorum rex, filius *Ferquardi* regis *Hiberniæ*, regnare incepit anno ante Christi servatoris in carnem adventum trecentesimo trigesimo. Regnavit annis xxv et, naufragio periit ad Scopulum *Fergusii* (*Cragfergus* vernacule) in mari *Hiberniæ*."

The *Irish* language and habit are still retained in the northern parts of *Scotland*, where the *Higlanders* speak the *Irish* tongue, and use their antient dress. As to the name *Scotland*, *Camden de Hibernia* mentions it from the authority of *Isidore* and *Beda*, that they called *Ireland* *Scotia*, and that *Scotland* was termed *Scotia a Scotis incolis, et inde Scotiæ nomen cum Scotis in Britanniam nostram commigrasse*. *Bede*, Lib. i. cap. 1. says, *Hibernia propria Scotorum patria*.

(7) In the reign of King *Henry II.* *Dermot M'Morough*, King of *Leinster*, being deprived of his kingdom by *Roderick O'Connór*, King of

Those whom they could not conquer, they betray'd,
Britain, by thee we fell, ungrateful isle!
 Not by thy valour, but superior guile;
Britain, with shame confess, this land of mine (8)
 First taught thee human knowledge and divine;
 My prelates and my students, sent from hence,
 Made your sons converts both to God and sense:
 Not like the pastors of thy rav'nous breed,
 Who come to fleece the flocks, and not to feed.

Wretched

of *Connaught*, he invited the *English* over as auxiliaries, and promised *Richard Strangbow*, Earl of *Pembroke*, his daughter, and all his dominions as a portion. By this assistance *M. Morough* recovered his crown, and *Strangbow* became possessed of all *Leinster*. After this, more forces being sent into *Ireland*, the *English* became powerful here; and when *Henry II.* arrived, the *Irish* Princes submitted to his government, and began to use the *English* laws.

(8) *St Patrick* arrived in *Ireland* in the year 431, and compleated the conversion of the natives, which had been begun by *Palladius* and others. And as Bishop *Nicholson* observes, (who was better acquainted with the contents of all the antient histories of both kingdoms than any man of the age) *Ireland* soon became the fountain of learning, to which all the western Christians, as well as the *English* had recourse, not only for instruction in the principles of religion, but in all sorts of literature; viz. *Legendi et Scholasticæ Eruditionis gratia*. For within a century after the death of *St Patrick*, the *Irish* seminaries of learning increased to such a degree, that most parts of *Europe* sent hither their children to be educated, and had from hence both their Bishops and Doctors. See venerable *Bede*, an *English* historian of undoubted credit, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 4, 7, 10, 11, 27.* Among other *Irish* apostles, he says, *Saint Colum* converted all the *Picts*, and many other *Britons*; and that *Saint Aidan* was the instructor of *King Oswald's* *Saxon* subjects in Christianity. *Camden in Hibernia* writes; "Subsequente ætate, Scotiis monarchis nihil sanctius, nihil eruditius fuerit, et in universam Europam sanctissimorum virorum examina emisierint." He says further, that they not only repaired to *Ireland*, as to the mart of learning, but also brought from thence even the form of their letters: "Anglosaxones etiam nostri illa ætate in Hiberniam tanquam ad bonarum literarum mercaturam undique confluxerunt; unde de viris sanctis sæpissime in nostris scriptoribus legitur; a mandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam. Indeque nostrates Saxones rationem formandi literas accepisse videantur, quum eodem plane charactere usi fuerit, qui hodie Hibernicis est in usu."

Wretched *Ierne*! with what grief I see
 The fatal changes time hath made in thee.
 The Christian rites I introduc'd in vain :
 Lo! Infidelity return'd again.
 Freedom and virtue in thy sons I found,
 Who now in vice and slavery are drown'd.

By faith and pray'r, this crozier in my hand,
 I drove the venom'd serpent from thy land ;
 The shepherd in his bow'r might sleep or sing (9),
 Nor dread the adder's tooth, nor scorpion's sting.

With omens oft I strove to warn thy swains,
 Omens, the types of thy impending chains.
 I sent the magpye from the *British* foil,
 With restless beak thy blooming fruit to spoil,
 To din thine ears with unharmonious clack,
 And haunt thy holy walls in white and black.
 What else are those thou seest in bishop's geer,
 Who crop the nurseries of learning here?
 Aspiring, greedy, full of senseless prate,
 Devour the church, and chatter to the state.

As you grew more degenerate and base,
 I sent you millions of the croaking race ;
 Emblems of insects vile who spread their spawn
 Through all thy land, in armour, fur, and lawn ;
 A nauseous brood, that fills your senate walls,
 And in the chambers of your viceroy crawls.

See, where the new-devouring vermin runs,
 Sent in my anger from the land of *Huns* ;
 With harpy claws it undermines the ground,
 And sudden spreads a num'rous offspring round ;
 Th' amphibious tyrant, with his rav'nous band,
 Drains all thy lakes of fish, of fruits thy land.

D d 2

Where

(9) There are no snakes, vipers, or toads in *Ireland* ; and even
 frogs were not known here until about the year 1700. The mag-
 pyes came a short time before, and the *Norway* rats since.

Where is the sacred well, that bore my name?
 Fled to the fountain back, from whence it came!
 Fair freedom's emblem once, which smoothly flows,
 And blessings equally on all bestows.
 Here, from the neighb'ring (10) nursery of arts,
 The students drinking, rais'd^d their wit and parts;
 Here, for an age and more, improv'd their vein,
 Their *Phæbus* I, my spring their *Hippocrene*.
 Discourag'd youths, now all their hopes must fail,
 Condemn'd to country cottages and ale;
 To foreign prelates make a slavish court,
 And by their sweat procure a mean support;
 Or, for the classicks read th' attorney's guide,
 Collect excise, or wait upon the tide.

O! had I been apostle to the *Swiss*,
 Or hardy *Scot*, or any land but this;
 Combin'd in arms, they had their foes defy'd,
 And kept their liberty, or bravely dy'd.
 Thou still with tyrants in succession curst,
 The last invaders trampling on the first:
 Nor fondly hope for some reverse of fate,
 Virtue herself would now return too late.
 Not half the course of misery is run,
 Thy greatest evils yet are scarce begun.
 soon shall thy sons, the time is just at hand,
 Be all made captives in their native land;
 When, for the use of no *Hibernian* born,
 Shall rise one blade of grass, one ear of corn;
 When shells and leather shall for money pass,
 Nor thy oppressing lords (11) afford the brass.
 But all turn leasers to that (12) mongril breed,
 Who from thee sprung, yet on thy vitals feed;

Who

(10) The university of *Dublin*, called *Trinity College*, was founded by queen *Elizabeth* in 1591.

(11) *Wood's* ruinous project against the people of *Ireland*, was supported by Sir *Robert Walpole* in 1724.

(12) The absentees, who spend the income of their *Irish* estates, places, and pensions in *England*.

Who to yon rav'nous isle thy treasures bear,
And waste in luxury thy harvests there;
For pride and ignorance a proverb grown,
The jest of wits, and to the court unknown.

I scorn thy spurious and degenerate line,
And from this hour my patronage resign.

To the Rev. Mr DANIEL JACKSON, to be
humbly presented by Mr SHERIDAN in
Person, with Respect, Care, and Speed.

To be delivered by and with Mr SHERIDAN.

Dear DAN,

HERE I return my trust, nor ask
One penny for remittance;
If I have well perform'd my task,
Pray send me an acquittance.

Too long I bore this weighty pack,
As *Hercules* the sky,
Now take him you, *Dan Atlas*, back,
Let me be stander-by.

Not all the wittty things you speak,
In compass of a day;
Not half the puns you make a week,
Should bribe his longer stay.

With me you left him out at nurse,
Yet are you not my debtor;
For, as he hardly can be worse,
I ne'er could make him better.

He rhimes and puns, and puns and rhimes,
 Just as he did before ;
 And when he's lash'd a hundred times,
 He rhimes and puns the more.

When rods are laid on school-boys bums,
 The more they frisk and skip :
 The school-boy's top but louder hums,
 The more they use the whip.

Thus, a lean beast beneath a load,
 (A beast of *Irish* breed)
 Will, in a tedious dirty road,
 Outgo the prancing steed.

You knock him down and down in vain,
 And lay him flat before ye ;
 For, soon as he gets up again,
 He'll strut and cry, *Victoria!*

At ev'ry stroke of mine, he fell,
 'Tis true he roar'd and cry'd ;
 But his impenetrable shell
 Could feel no harm beside.

The tortoise thus, with motion slow,
 Will clamber up a wall ;
 Yet, senseless to the hardest blow,
 Gets nothing but a fall.

Dear *Dan*, then, why should you or I
 Attack his pericrany ?
 And since it is in vain to try,
 We'll send him to *Delany*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Lean *Tom*, when I saw him, last week, on his horse awry,
 Threat'n'd loudly to turn me to stone with his forcery.
 But,

But, I think, little *Dan*, that in spight of what our
 foe says,
 He will find I read *Ovid*, and his metamorphosis.
 For omitting the first (where I make a comparifon,
 With a fort of allufion to *Putland* or *Harrifon*)
 Yet by my description, you'll find, he in fhort is
 A pack and a garran, a top and a tortoise.
 So I hope from henceforward you ne'er will ask, can
 I maul
 This teasing, conceited, rude, insolent animal?
 And, if this rebuke might turn to his benefit,
 (For I pity the man) I fould then be glad of it.

A Copy of a Copy of Verfes from
 THOMAS SHERIDAN, Clerk, to
¹ GEORGE ² NIM-³ DAN-⁴ DEAN, Efq;
 Written *July* 15th, 1721, at Night.

I'D have you. t' know *George*, *Dan*, *Dean*, and *Nim*,
 That I've learned how verfe t' compofe trim,
 Much better b'half th'n you, n'r you, n'r him,
 And th't I'd rid'cule their, 'nd your flam flim,
 Ay' b't then, p'rhaps fays you, t's a m'rry whim
 With 'bundance of mark't notes i' th' rim,
 So th't I ought n't for t' be morofe 'nd t' look grim,
 Think n't your 'p'fble put m' in a meagrim;
 Though, 'n rep't t'on day, I'ppear ver' flim,
 Th' laft bowl't *Helſham*'s did m' head t' swim,
 So th't I h'd man' aches 'n 'v'ry scrubb'd limb,
 Cauſe th' top of th' bowl I'h'd oft us'd t' skim;
 And

1 GEORGE ROCHFORD, Efq;

2 His brother JOHN ROCHFORD, called NIM, becauſe he was
 a great hunter, from NIMROD.

3 The Rev. Mr DANIEL JACKSON.

4 Dr SWIFT, dean of St Patrick's.

And b'sides 5 *D'lan'* swears th't I'h'd swall'w'd f'v'r'l
brim-
mers, 'nd that my vis'ge's cov'r'd o'r with r'd pim-
ples: m'r'o'er though m' scull were (s'tis n't) 's strong's
tim-
er, 't must have ak'd. Th' clans of th' c'ledge
Sanh'drim,
pres'nt th'r humbl' and 'fect'nate respects; that's
t'fay, *D'lan'*, 'chlin, *P. Ludl'*, *Dic' St'wart*, *H'ysham*,
capt'n *P'rr' Walms'nd* 6 longsh'aks *Timm*.

GEORGE NIM-DAN-DEAN, Esq; to Mr
SHERIDAN, on his Verses, written July
15. 1721, at ten in the morning.

DEAR *Sheridan*; a loving pair
Of *Galfown* lads* (for so they are)
Beside a brace of grave divines,
Adore the smoothness of thy lines:
Smooth as our bason's gentle flood,
Ere *George* had robb'd it of its mud.
Smoother than *Pegasus'* old shoe,
'Ere *Vulcan* comes to make him new.
Compar'd with which (and that's enough)
A smoothing iron, itself is rough.

Nor praise we less that circumcision,
By modern poets, call'd *Elision*;
Which in its proper station plac'd,
Makes thy verse smooth, and makes them last.
Thus a wise taylor is not pinching,
But turns, at every seam, an inch in.

Or,

5 *Dr DELANY*.

6 Mr STOPFORD of *Finglas*, minister of that parish, afterwards
bishop of *Cloyne*.

* The county seat of Lord Chief Baron ROCHFORD.

Or, else be sure, your broad cloath breeches,
Will ne'er be smooth, nor hold the stitches.
Thy verse like bricks, defy the weather,
When smooth'd by rubbing them together :
Thy words so closely wedg'd, and short are,
Like walls, more lasting without mortar:
By leaving out the needless vowels,
You save the charge of lime and trowels.
One letter still another locks ;
Each groov'd, and dove-tail'd, like a box.
Thy muse is tuck'd up, and succinct ;
In chains, thy syllables are link'd.
Thy words together ty'd in small hanks,
Close, as the *Macedonian* phalanx :
Or, like the umbo of the *Romans*,
Which fiercest foes cou'd break by no means.
The critic to his cost will find,
How firmly these indentures bind.
So in the kindred painter's art,
The short'ning is the nicest part.

Philologers of future ages
How will they pore upon thy pages ?
Nor will they dare to break to joints,
But help thee to be read with points.
Or else, to shew their learned labour, you
May backward be perus'd like *Hebrew*.
Wherein they need not lose a bit,
Or, of thy harmony, or wit.
To make a work compleatly fine,
Number, and weight, and measure join.
Then all must grant, your lines are weighty,
Where thirty weigh as much as eighty.
All must allow, your numbers more,
Where forty lines, exceed fourscore.
Nor can we think your measure short,
Where less than forty fill a quart.

With

With *Alexandrian* in the close,
Long, long, long, long, like *Dan's* long nose.

A Dialogue between an eminent * Lawyer,
and Dr SWIFT, D. S. P. D. Being an
Allusion to the First Satyr of the Second
Book of *Horace*,—*Sunt quibus in Sa-
tyra*, &c.

Written February, 1728.

SINCE there are persons who complain
There's too much satyr in my vein,
That I am often found exceeding
The rules of raillery and breeding,
With too much freedom treat my betters,
Not sparing even men of letters :
You, who are skill'd in lawyers lore,
What's your advice ? Shall I give o'er,
Nor ever fools or knaves expose
Either in verse or hum'rous prose,
And to avoid all future ill,
In my 'scrutore lock up my quill ?

Since you are pleas'd to condescend
To ask the judgment of a friend,
Your case consider'd, I must think
You should withdraw from pen and ink,
Forbear your poetry and jokes,
And live like other Christian folks ;
Or, if the Muses must inspire
Your fancy with their pleasing fire,
Take subjects safer for your wit,
Than those on which you lately writ,

Commend

* Mr LINDSAY, who was afterwards a judge of the *Common-Pleas*.

Commend the times, your thoughts correct,
 And follow the prevailing sect;
 Assert that *Hyde* *, in writing story,
 Shews all the malice of a Tory,
 While *Burnet* † in his deathless page,
 Discovers freedom without rage;
 To *Woolston* ‡ recommend our youth
 For learning, probity, and truth,
 That noble genius who unbinds
 The chains which fetter free-born minds,
 Redeems us from the slavish fears
 Which lasted near two thousand years;
 He can alone the priesthood humble,
 Make gilded spires and altars tumble.

Must I commend against my conscience
 Such stupid blasphemy and nonsense?
 To such a subject tune my lyre,
 And sing like one of *Milton's* choir,
 Where devils to a vale retreat,
 And call the laws of wisdom fate,
 Lament upon their hapless fall,
 That force free virtue should enthrall?
 Or, shall the charms of wealth and pow'r
 Make me pollute the Muses bow'r?

As from the tripod of *Apollo*,
 Hear from my desk the words that follow:
 Some by philosophers mislead,
 Must honour you alive and dead;
 And such as know what *Greece* hath writ
 Must taste your irony and wit.

While

* Earl of *Clarendon*, who wrote of the civil wars begun in the year 1641.

† Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote the history of his own times, &c.

‡ A degraded clergyman of the church of *England*, who wrote against the miracles of our Saviour.

While most that are, or would be great,
Must dread your pen, your person hate,
And you on *Drapier's* hill * must lye,
And there without a mitre dye.

PAULUS. By Mr LYNDSAY.

Dublin, Sept. 7, 1728.

A SLAVE to crowds, scorch'd with the summer's heats,
In courts the wretched lawyer toils and sweats;
While smiling nature in her best attire,
Regales each sense, and vernal joys inspire.
Can he who knows that real good should please,
Barter for gold his liberty and ease?
Thus *Paulus* preach'd:—When ent'ring at the door,
Upon his board a client pours the ore:
He grasps the shining gift, pores o'er the cause,
Forgets the sun, and dozeth on the laws.

The ANSWER. By Dr SWIFT.

LYND SAY mistakes the matter quite,
And honest *Paulus* judges right.
Then, why these quarrels to the sun,
Without whose aid you're all undone.
Did *Paulus* e'er complain of sweat?
Did *Paulus* e'er the sun forget?
The influence of whose golden beams,
Soon licks up all unsav'ry steams.
The sun, you say, his face hath kist:
It has: but then it greas'd his fist.

True

* In the county of *Armagh*.

True lawyers for the wisest ends,
 Have always been *Apollo's* friends.
 Not for his superficial powers
 Of ripening fruits, or gilding flowers;
 Not for inspiring poets brains,
 With pennyless and starv'ling strains;
 Not for his boasted healing art;
 Not for his skill to shoot the dart;
 Nor yet because he sweetly fiddles;
 Nor for his prophecies in riddles:
 But for a more substantial cause,
Apollo's patron of the laws;
 Whom *Paulus* ever must adore,
 As parent of the golden ore.

By *Phæbus* an incestuous birth,
 Begot upon his grandame earth.
 By *Phæbus* first produc'd to light,
 By *Vulcan* form'd so round and bright;
 Then offer'd at the shrine of Justice,
 By clients to her priests and trustees;
 Nor, when we see *Astræa* stand
 With even balance in her hand,
 Must we suppose she hath in view,
 How to give ev'ry man his due;
 Her scales, you see her only hold,
 To weigh her priests, the lawyers gold.
 Now should I own your case was grievous,
 Poor sweaty *Paulus*, who'd believe us?
 'Tis very true, and none denies,
 At least that such complaints are wise;
 'Tis wise no doubt, as clients fat ye more,
 To cry, like statesmen, *Quanta patimur?*

But, since the truth must needs be stretched,
 To prove that lawyers are so wretched:

This paradox I'll undertake,
For *Paulus* and for *Lyndsay's* sake.
By topics, which tho' I abomine 'em,
May serve as arguments *ad hominem*;
Yet, I disdain to offer those
Made use of by detracting foes:
I own the curses of mankind,
Sit light upon a lawyer's mind;
The clamours of ten thousand tongues,
Break not his rest, nor hurt his lungs.
I own, his conscience always free,
Provided he has got his fee.
Secure of constant peace within,
He knows no guilt, who knows no sin.
Yet, well they merit to be pitied,
By clients always over-witted.
And though the gospel seems to say,
What heavy burdens lawyers lay,
Upon the shoulders of their neighbour,
Nor lend a finger to the labour.
Always for saving their own bacon,
No doubt the text is here mistaken.
The copy's false, and sense is rack'd,
To prove it, I appeal to fact;
And thus by demonstration shew,
What burdens lawyers undergo,
With early clients at his door,
Tho' he was drunk the night before:
And, crop-sick with unclub'd for wine,
The wretch must be at court by nine.
Half sunk beneath his briefs and bag,
As ridden by a midnight hag:
Then from the bar harangues the bench,
In *English* vile, and viler *French*,

And

And *Latin*, vilest of the three ;
 And all for poor ten moidores fee.
 Of paper, how is he profuse ?
 With periods long, in terms abstruse.
 What pains he takes to be prolix ?
 A thousand lines to stand for fix !
 Of common sense without a word in,
 And is not this a grievous burden ?

The lawyer is a common drudge,
 To fight our cause before the judge ;
 And what is yet a greater curse,
 Condemn'd to bear his client's purse,
 While he at ease, secure and light,
 Walks boldly home at dead of night.
 When term is ended leaves the town,
 Trots to his country-mansion down ;
 And disencumber'd of his load,
 No danger dreads upon the road ;
 Despiseeth rapparees, and rides
 Safe through the *Newry* mountains fides.
Lyndsay, 'tis you have set me on,
 To state this question *pro* and *con*.
 My satyr may offend, 'tis true,
 However, it concerns not you.

I own there may in every clan,
 Perhaps be found one honest man ;
 Yet link them close, in this they jump,
 To be but sharpers in the lump.
 Imagine *Lyndsay* at the bar,
 He's much the same his brethren are.
 Well taught by practice to imbibe
 The fundamentals of his tribe :
 And in his client's just defence,
 Must deviate oft from common sense ;

And make his ignorance discern'd,
 To get the name of council learn'd,
 As *Lucus* comes a *non Lucendo*,
 And wisely do as other men do,
 But shift him to a better scene,
 Among his crew of R——s in grain,
 Surrounded with compassions fit,
 To taste his humour, sense, and wit;
 You'd swear he never took a fee,
 Nor knew his law in A, B, C.
 'Tis hard where dulness over-rules,
 To keep good sense in crowds of fools,
 And we admire the man who saves
 His honesty in crowds of knaves;
 Nor yields up virtue at discretion,
 To V-ll-ns of his own profession.
Lyndsay, you know what pains you take,
 In both, yet barely save your stake;
 And will you venture both a-new,
 To fit among that venal crew,
 That pack of mimic legislators,
 Abandon'd, stupid, slavish praters?
 For, as the rabble dawb and rife
 The fool who scrambles for a trifle,
 Who for his pain is cuff'd and kick'd,
 Drawn through the dirt, his pocket pick'd;
 You must expect the like disgrace,
 Scrambling with rogues to get a place,
 Must lose the honour you have gain'd,
 Your num'rous virtues foully stain'd:
 Disclaim for ever all pretence
 To common honesty and sense,
 And join in friendship with a strict tye,
 To *****, *****, and *****.

On Dr RUNDLE bishop of DERRY.

MAKE *Rundle* bishop; fye for shame!

An *Arian* to usurp the name!

A bishop in the isle of Saints!

How will his brethren make complaints?

Dare any of the mitred host,

Confer on him the HOLY GHOST;

In mother-church to breed a variance,

By coupling *Orthodox* with *Arians*?

Yet, were he *Heathen*, *Turk*, or *Jew*,

What is there in it strange or new?

For, let us hear the weak pretence,

His brethren find to take offence;

Of whom there are but four at most,

Who know there is an HOLY GHOST:

The rest, who boast they have conferr'd it,

Like *Paul's Ephesians*, never heard it;

And, when they gave it, well 'tis known,

They gave what never was their own.

RUNDLE a bishop! well he may;

He's still a *Christian* more than they.

We know the subject of their quarrels;

The man has learning, sense, and morals.

There is a reason still more weighty;

'Tis granted he believes a deity:

Has ev'ry circumstance to please us,

Though fools may doubt his faith in J—,

But why should he with that be loaded,

Now twenty years from court exploded?

And, is not this objection odd

From rogues who ne'er believ'd a God?

For liberty a champion stout,
 'Though not so gospel-ward devout.
 While others hither sent to save us,
 Came but to plunder and enslave us;
 Nor ever own'd a pow'r divine,
 But *Mammon*, and the *G--m-n* line.

Say, how did *Rundle* undermine 'em:
 Who shew'd a better *Jus divinum*?
 From ancient canons would not vary,
 But thrice refus'd *Episcopari*.

Our bishop's predecessor *Magus*,
 Would offer all the sands of *Tagus*;
 Or sell his children, house, and lands,
 For that one gift, to lay on hands:
 But all his gold could not avail
 To have the *Spirit* set to sale.
 Said surly *Peter*, *Magus*, prithee
 Be gone: thy money perish with thee.
 Were *Peter* now alive, perhaps
 He might have found a score of chaps.
 Could he but make his gift appear
 In rents three thousand pounds a year.

Some fancy this promotion odd,
 As not the handy-work of *God*;
 Though ev'n the bishops disappointed,
 Must own it made by *God's Anointed*.
 And well we know, the *Congee Regal*
 Is more secure as well as legal.
 Because our lawyers all agree,
 That bishopricks are held in fee.

Dear *Baldwin* chaste, and witty *Crosse*,
 How sorely I lament your loss?

That

That such a pair of wealthy minnies
Should slip your time of dropping guineas;
For, had you made the k—— your debtor,
Your title had been so much better.

The FABLE of the BITCHES.

Wrote in the Year 1715, on an Attempt to repeal the Test Act.

A BITCH that was full pregnant grown,
By all the dogs and curs in town;
Finding her ripen'd time was come,
Her litter teeming from her womb,
Went here and there, and ev'ry where,
To find an easy place to lay-her.

At length to *Musick's* house (a) she came,
And begg'd like one both blind and lame;
“ My only friend, my dear,” said she,
“ You see 'tis mere necessity,
“ Hath sent me to your house to whelp;
“ I'll dye, if you deny your help.”

With fawning whine, and rueful tone,
With artful sigh and feigned groan,
With couchant cringe, and flattering tale,
Smooth *Barwy* (b) did so far prevail;
That *Musick* gave her leave to litter,
But mark what followed, — Faith, she bit her.

Whole baskets full of bits and scraps,
And broth enough to fill her paps,
For well she knew her num'rous brood,
For want of milk, would suck her blood.

But

(a) *Musick's* house, the church of *England*.

(b) *Barwy*, (the name of a bitch in *Scotch*,) alludes to the kirk.

But when she thought her pains were done,
 And now 'twas high time to be gone;
 In civil terms, — “ My friend,” says she,
 “ My house you’ve had on courtesy;
 “ And now I earnestly desire,
 “ That you would with your cubs retire;
 “ For should you stay but one week longer,
 “ I shall be starv’d with cold and hunger.”

The guest reply’d — “ My friend, your leave
 “ I must a little longer crave;
 “ Stay till my tender cubs can find
 “ Their way — for now you see their blind;
 “ But when we’ve gather’d strength, I swear,
 “ We’ll to our barn again repair.”

The time pass’d on, and *Musick* came,
 Her kennel once again to claim;
 But, *Bawty*, lost to shame and honour,
 Set all her cubs at once upon her;
 Made her retire and quit her right,
 And loudly cry’d — a bite, a bite.

THE MORAL.

Thus did the *Grecian* wooden horse,
 Conceal a fatal armed force:
 No sooner brought within the walls,
 But *Ilium*’s lost, and *Priam* falls.

COPY OF THE BIRTH-DAY VERSES ON MR FORD.

COME be content, since out it must,
 For *Stella* has betray’d her trust,
 And whisp’ring charg’d me not to say,
 That Mr *Ford* was born to day:

(Or,

Or, if at last, I needs must blab it
 According to my usual habit,
 She bid me with a serious face,
 Be sure conceal the time and place,
 And not my compliment to spoil
 By calling this your native soil,
 Or vex the ladies when they knew,
 That you are turning forty-two;
 But, if these topicks shall appear
 Strong arguments to keep you here,
 I think, though you judge hardly of it,
 Good manners must give place to profit,

The nymphs with whom you first began,
 Are each become a *Harridan*;
 And *Montague* so far decay'd,
 Her lovers now must all be paid,
 And ev'ry belle that since arose
 Has her coteremporary beaux.
 Your former comrades once so bright,
 With whom you toasted half the night,
 Of rheumatism and pox complain,
 And bid adieu to dear champain;
 Your great protectors once in pow'r
 Are now in exile or the tow'r.
 Your foes triumphant o'er the laws,
 Who hate your person and your cause,
 If once they get you on the spot,
 You must be guilty of the plot.
 For true or false they'll ne'er inquire,
 But use you ten times worse than *Prior (a)*

In *London*, what would you do there?
 Can you, my friend, with patience bear,
 Nay, would it not your passion raise
 Worse than a pun, or *Irish* phrase;

To

(a) MAT. PRIOR, Esq; a famous poet. See his works.

To see a scoundrel strut and hector
 A foot-boy to some rogue director;
 To look on vice triumphant round,
 And virtue trampled on the ground!
 Observe where bloody ——— stands
 With torturing engines in his hands,
 Hear him blaspheme, and swear and rail,
 Threat'ning the pillory and jail,
 If this you think a pleasing scene,
 To *London* strait return again,
 Where you have told us from experience
 Are swarms of bugs and presbyterians.

I thought my very spleen would burst,
 When fortune hither drove me first;
 Was full as hard to please as you,
 Nor persons, names, nor places knew:
 But now I act as other fo'ke,
 Like pris'ners when their jail is broke.

If you have *London* still at heart,
 We'll make a small one here, by art:
 The difference is not much between
St James's Park and *Stephen's Green*;
 And *Dawson-street* will serve as well
 To lead you thither, as *Pallemall*,
 Nor want a passage through the palace,
 To choak your fight, and raise your malice.
 The deanry-house may well be matcht
 (Under correction) with the *Thatcht* (a),
 Nor shall I, when you hither come,
 Demand a crown a quart for stumm.
 Then for a middle-aged chamber,
Stella may vye with your main charmer,
 She's

(a) A famous tavern in *St James's-street* near the palace.

She's now as handsome ev'ry bit,
 And has a thousand times her wit.
 The dean and *Sheridan*, I hope,
 Will half supply a *Gay* and *Pope*,
*Corbet**, though yet I know his worth not,
 No doubt, will prove a good *Arbutnot*;
 I throw into the bargain, *Tim*.
 In *London* can you equal him?
 What think you of my fav'rite clan,
Robin and *Jack*, and *Jack* and *Dan*†?
 Fellows of modest worth and parts,
 With chearful looks, and honest hearts.
 Can you on *Dublin* look with scorn?
 Yet here were you and *Ormond* ‡ born.

Oh! were but you and I so wise,
 To see with *Robert Gratton*'s eyes,
Robin adores that spot of earth,
 That lit'ral spot which gave him birth.
 And swears *Belcamp* || is to his taste,
 As fine as *Hampton-Court* at least.
 When to your friends you would enhance
 The praise of *Italy*, or *France*.
 For grandeur, elegance, and wit,
 We gladly hear you and submit:
 But then to come and keep a clutter,
 For this or that side of a gutter,
 To live in this or t'other isle,
 We cannot think it worth your while;
 For take it kindly or amiss,
 The diff'rence but amounts to this,
 We

* Dr *Corbet* afterwards dean of *St Patrick's* cathedral, *Dublin*, on the death of Dr *Saturina*, who succeeded Dr *Swift*.

† Rev. *Robert* and *John Grafton*, brothers; *John* and *Daniel Jackson*.

‡ *James Butler*, the late Duke of *Ormond*.

|| In *Fingal*, about five miles from *Dublin*.

We bury, on our side the channel,
 In linen*, and on yours in flannel;
 You, for the news are ne'er to seek,
 While we, perhaps, may wait a week:
 You, happy folks, are sure to meet
 An hundred whores in ev'ry street,
 While we may trace all *Dublin* o'er
 Before we find out half a score.

You see my arguments are strong,
 I wonder you held out so long:
 But since you are convinc'd at last,
 We'll pardon you for what is past.
 So ——— let us now for whiff prepare,
 Twelve pence a corner if you dare.

A PETITION to his Grace the Duke of GRAFTON.

Non Domus et Fundus ——— *Hor.*

By Dean S M E D L E Y.

IT was, my lord, the dex'trous shift
 Of t'other *Jonathan*, viz. *Swift*,
 But now *St Patrick's* faucy dean,
 With silver verge, and surplice clean,
 Of *Oxford*, or of *Ormond's* grace
 In looser rhyme to beg a place.
 A place he got, yclep'd a stall,
 And eke a thousand pounds withal;
 And, were he a less witty writer,
 He might as well have got a mitre.

Thus I the *Jonathan* of *Clogher*,
 In humble lays my thanks to offer,

Approach

* In the year 1733, there was an act of parliament made in *Ireland* to bury in woollen.

Approach your grace with grateful heart,
 My thanks and verse devoid of art,
 Content with what your bounty gave,
 No larger income do I crave :
 Rejoicing that in better times
*Grafton** require my loyal lines.
 Proud ! while my patron is polite,
 I likewise to the patriot write.
 Proud ! that at once I can commend
 King *George's* and the Muse's friend,
 Endear'd to *Britain* and to thee,
 (Disjoin'd *Hibernia*, by the sea)
 Endear'd by twice three anxious years,
 Employ'd in guardian toils and cares :
 By love, by wisdom, and by skill,
 For he has sav'd thee 'gainst thy will.

But where shall *Smedly* make his nest,
 And lay his wand'ring head to rest ?
 Where shall he find a decent house
 To treat his friends, and chear his spouse ?
 Oh ! lack, my lord, some pretty cure,
 In wholesome soil, and æther pure ;
 The garden stor'd with artless flowers,
 In either angle shady bowers.
 No gay *Parterre* with costly green,
 Within the ambient hedge be seen :
 Let nature freely take her course,
 Nor fear from one ungrateful force ;
 No sheers shall check her sprouting vigour,
 Nor shape the yews to antic figure :
 A limpid brook shall trouts supply,
 In *May* to take the mimic fly ;
 Round a small orchard may it run,
 Whose apples redden to the sun.

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F f

Let

* CHARLES FITSROY, Duke of *Grafton*, then Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Let all be snug, and warm, and neat,
 For fifty turn'd a safe retreat.
 A little *Euston* may it be,
Euston I'll carve on ev'ry tree.
 But then to keep it in repair,
 My lord—— *twice fifty pounds* a year
 Will barely do ; but if your Grace
 Could make them *hundreds*—— charming place !
 Thou then would'st shew another face. }
Clogher ! far north, my lord, it lies,
 'Midst snowy hills inclement skies ;
 One shivers with the *artic* wind,
 One hears the *polar axis* grind.
 Good *John* * indeed with beef and claret,
 Makes the place warm that one may bear it.
 He has a purse to keep a table,
 And eke a soul as hospitable.
 My heart is good ; but affets fail,
 To fight with storms of snow and hail ;
 Besides the country's thin of people,
 Who seldom meet, but at the steeple :
 The strapping dean, that's gone to *Down*,
 Ne'er nam'd the thing without a frown,
 When much fatigu'd with sermon study,
 He felt his brain grow dull and muddy ;
 No fit companion could be found
 To push the lazy bottle round ;
 Sure then, for want of better folks,
 To pledge *his clerk* was *orthodox*.

Ah ! how unlike to *Gerard-street*,
 Where beaux and belles in parties meet ;
 Where gilded chairs and coaches throng,
 And jostle as they trowl along ;

Where

* Dr JOHN STERNE, bishop of *Clogher*, predecessor to Dr SWIFT, as dean of *St Patrick's*.

Where tea and coffee hourly flow,
 And gape-feed does in plenty grow,
 And *Griz* (no clock more certain) cries
 Exact at seven, *Hot mutton pies*.
 There lady *Luna* in her sphere
 Once shone, when *Paunchforth* was not near;
 But now she wains, and, as 'tis said,
 Keeps sober hours, and goes to bed.
 There ——— but 'tis endless to write down
 All the amusements of the town;
 And spouse will think herself quite undone,
 To trudge to *Connor* * from sweet *London*.
 And care we must our wives to please
 Or ——— else we shall be ill at ease.

You see, my lord, what 'tis I lack,
 'Tis only some convenient tack,
 Some parsonage-house, with garden sweet,
 To be my late, my last retreat;
 A decent church close by its side,
 There preaching, praying, to reside;
 And, as my time securely rolls,
 To save my own and others souls.

HIS GRACE'S Answer.

By Dr S W I F T.

DEAR *Smed*, I read thy brilliant lines,
 Where wit in all its glory shines;
 Where compliments with all their pride
 Are by their numbers dignify'd:
 I hope, to make you yet as clean,
 As that fame, *viz.* *St Patrick's dean*:
 I'll give thee *surplice*, *verge*, and *stall*,
 And may be something else withal;

F f 2

And

* *Connor* is united to the bishopric of *Down*; but here are two deans.

And were you not so good a writer,
 I should present you with a mitre.
 Write worse then, *if you can*—Be wise—
 Believe me, 'tis *the way to rise*.
 Talk not of *making of thy nest*,
Ab ! never lay thy head to rest !
That head so well with wisdom fraught !
That writes without the toil of thought.
 While others rack their busy brains,
 You are not in the least at pains.
 Down to your deanery repair,
 And build *a castle in the air*.
 I'm sure a man of your fine sense
 Can do it with a small expence.
 There your *dear spouse*, and you together,
 May breathe your bellies full of *æther*.
 When lady *Luna* is your neighbour,
 She'll help your *wife* when she's in labour.
 Well skill'd in midwife-artifices,
 For she herself oft' *falls in pieces*.
 There you shall see a *rare-show*,
 Will make you scorn this *world below*,
 When you behold the milky way,
 As white as snow, as bright as day,
 The glitt'ring constellations roll
 About the grinding *artic pole*.
 The lovely tingling in your ears,
 Wrought by the music of the spheres——
 Your spouse shall then no longer hector,
 You need not fear a curtain-lecture ;
 Nor shall she think that she's *undone*
 For quitting her beloved *London*.
 When she's exalted in the skies,
 She'll never think of mutton-pies ;
 When you're advanc'd above *dean*, viz.
 You'll never think of goody *Griz*.

But

But ever, ever live at ease,
 And strive, and strive *your wife to please*;
 In her you'll center all your joys,
 And get ten thousand *girls and boys*;
 Ten thousand girls and boys you'll get,
 And they, like stars, shall *rise and set*.
 While *you and spouse* transform'd, shall soon
 Be a *new sun*, and a *new moon*:
 Nor shall you strive your horns to hide,
 For then your horns shall be your pride.

Dean SWIFT at Sir ARTHUR ACHESON'S
 in the North of IRELAND.

THE dean would visit *Market-Hill*,
 Our invitation was but slight;
 I said,—Why let him, if he will,
 And so I bid Sir *A——r* write.

His manners would not let him wait,
 Lest we should think ourselves neglected;
 And so we saw him at our gate,
 Three days before he was expected.

After a week, a month, a quarter,
 And day succeeding after day,
 Says not a word of his departure,
 Though not a soul would have him stay.

I've said enough to make him blush,
 Methink's, or else the devil's in't;
 But, he cares not for it a rush,
 Nor, for my life, will take the hint.

But you, my dear, may let him know,
 In civil language, if he stays,
 How deep and foul the roads may grow,
 And that he may command the chaise.

Or you may say ——— my wife intends,
 Though I should be exceeding proud,
 This winter to invite some friends,
 And, Sir, I know, you hate a crowd.

Or, Mr Dean — I should with joy
 Beg you would here continue still,
 But we must go to *Aghnacloy* *,
 Or, Mr *Moore* will take it ill.

The house-accompts are daily rising,
 So much his stay doth swell the bills;
 My dearest life, it is surprizing,
 How much he eats, how much he swills,

His brace of puppies how they stuff,
 And they must have three meals a day,
 Yet never think they get enough;
 His horses too eat all our hay.

Oh! if I could, how I would maul
 His tallow face and wainscot paws,
 His beetle-brows, and eyes of wall,
 And make him soon give up the cause.

Must I be every moment chid
 With skinny bonia, snip and lean †;
 Oh! that I could but once be rid
 Of this insulting tyrant dean!

The STORM; MINERVA'S Petition.

PALLAS, a goddess chaste and wife,
 Descending lately from the skies,
 To *Neptune* went, and begg'd in form
 He'd give his orders for a storm;

A storm,

* The seat of *ACHESON MOORE*, Esq;

† The Dean used to call Lady *Acheson* by those names.

A storm, to drown that rascal —,
 And she wou'd kindly thank him for't.
 A wretch ! whom *E—gl—b* rogues to spite her,
 Had lately honour'd with a *M—tre*.

The god, who favour'd her request,
 Assur'd her he wou'd do his best :
 But *Venus* had been there before,
 Pleaded the *B —* lov'd a *w —*,
 And had enlarg'd her empire wide,
 He own'd no deity beside.
 At sea, or land, if e'er you found him,
 Without a mistress, hang or drown him.
 Since *B—rn—t*'s death, the ———'s bench,
 'Till ——— arriv'd ne'er kept a wench ;
 If — must sink, she grieves to tell it,
 She'll not have left one single prelate :
 For, to say truth, she did intend him,
 Elect of *Cyprus* in *commendam*.
 And since her birth the ocean gave her,
 She could not doubt her uncle's favour.

Then *Proteus* urg'd the same request,
 But half in earnest, half in jest ;
 Said he ——— “ Great sovereign of the main,
 “ To drown him all attempts are vain,
 “ ——— can assume more forms than I,
 “ A rake, a bully, pimp, or spy.
 “ Can creep, or run, can fly or swim,
 “ All motions are alike to him :
 “ Turn him adrift, and you shall find
 “ He knows to sail with ev'ry wind ;
 “ Or, throw him overboard he'll ride
 “ As well against, as with the tide.
 “ But, *Pallas*, you've apply'd too late,
 “ For 'tis decreed by *Jove* and fate,

“ That

" That *Ireland* must be soon destroy'd,
 " And who but ——— can be employ'd ?
 " You need not then have been so pert,
 " In sending *Bolton* * to *Clonsfert*.
 " I found you did it by your grinning ;
 " Your bus'ness is to mind your spinning.
 " But how you came to interpose,
 " In making B ——— s, no one knows ;
 " And, if you must have your petition,
 " There's *Berkley* † in the same condition ;
 " Look, there he stands, and 'tis but just
 " If one must drown, the other must ;
 " But, if you'll leave us B ——— p *Judas*,
 " We'll give you *Berkeley* for *Bermudas* ‡.
 " Now, if 'twill gratify your spight,
 " To put him in a plaguy fright,
 " Although 'tis hardly worth the cost,
 " You soon shall see him soundly tost.
 " You'll find him swear, blaspheme, and damn,
 " And ev'ry moment take a dram,
 " His ghostly visage with an air
 " Of reprobation and despair :
 " Or, else some hiding hole he seeks,
 " For fear the rest shou'd say he squeeks ;
 " Or, as *Fitzpatrick* || did before,
 " Resolve to perish with his W ——— ;
 " Or, else he raves, and roars, and swears,
 " And, but for shame, wou'd say his pray'rs.
 " Or, wou'd you see his spirits sink ?
 " Relaxing downwards in a ft ——— k ?

" If

* Dr THEOPHILUS BOLTON, afterwards archbishop of *Cashell*.

† Dr GEORGE BERKELEY, a senior fellow of *Trinity College*, *Dublin*, from whence he was made dean of *Derry*, and afterwards bishop of *Cloyne*.

‡ See his scheme in his miscellanies for erecting an university at *Bermudas*.

|| Brigadier FITZPATRICK was drowned in one of the packet boats in the bay of *Dublin* in a great storm.

- “ If such a fight as this can please ye,
“ Good madam *Pallas*, pray be easy,
“ To *Neptune* speak, and he'll consent ;
“ But he'll come back the knave he went.”

The goddess, who conceiv'd an hope,
That — was destin'd to a rope,
Believ'd it best to condescend
To spare a foe, to save a friend :
But, fearing *Berkeley* might be scar'd,
She left him virtue for a guard.

The END of the Tenth VOLUME.